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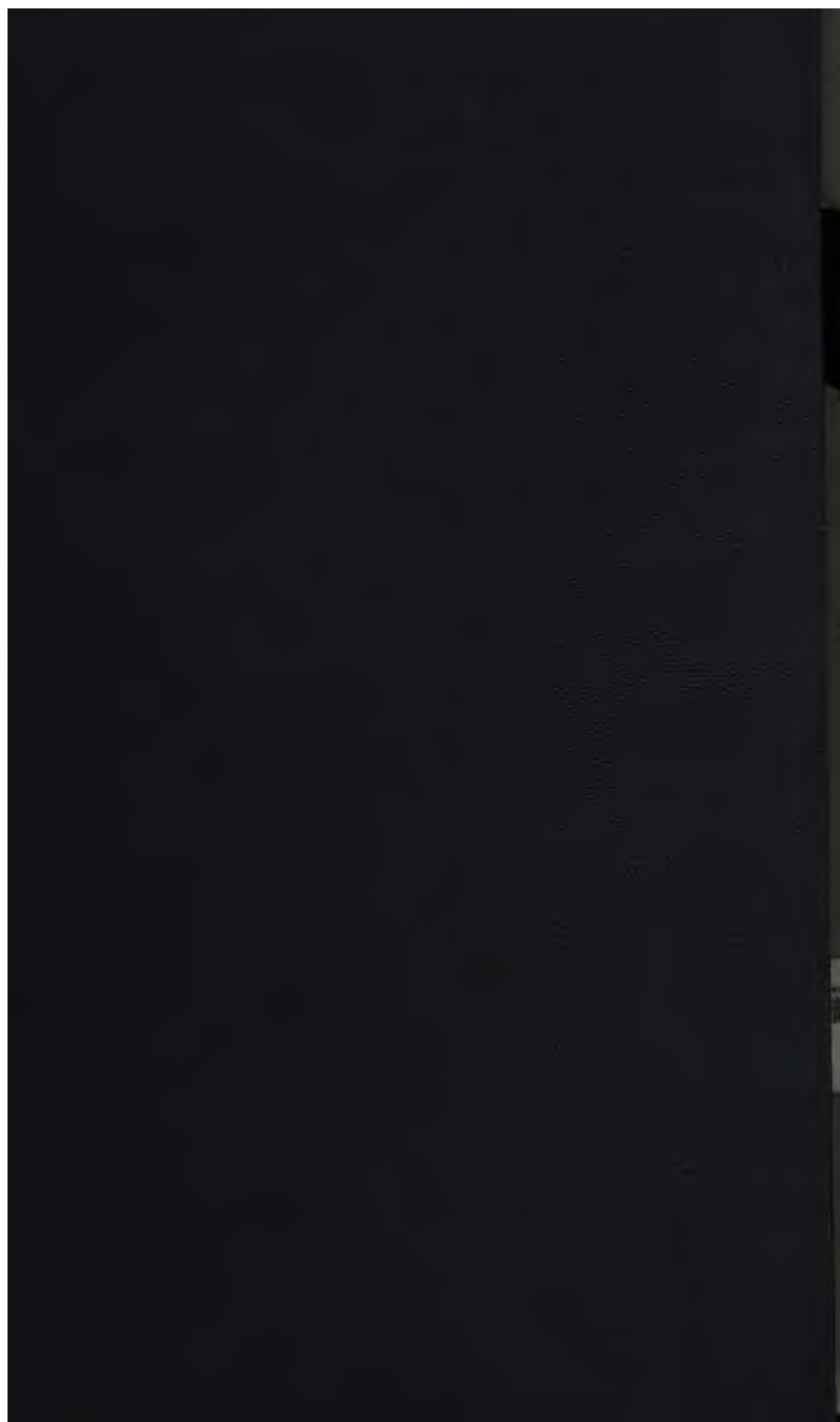
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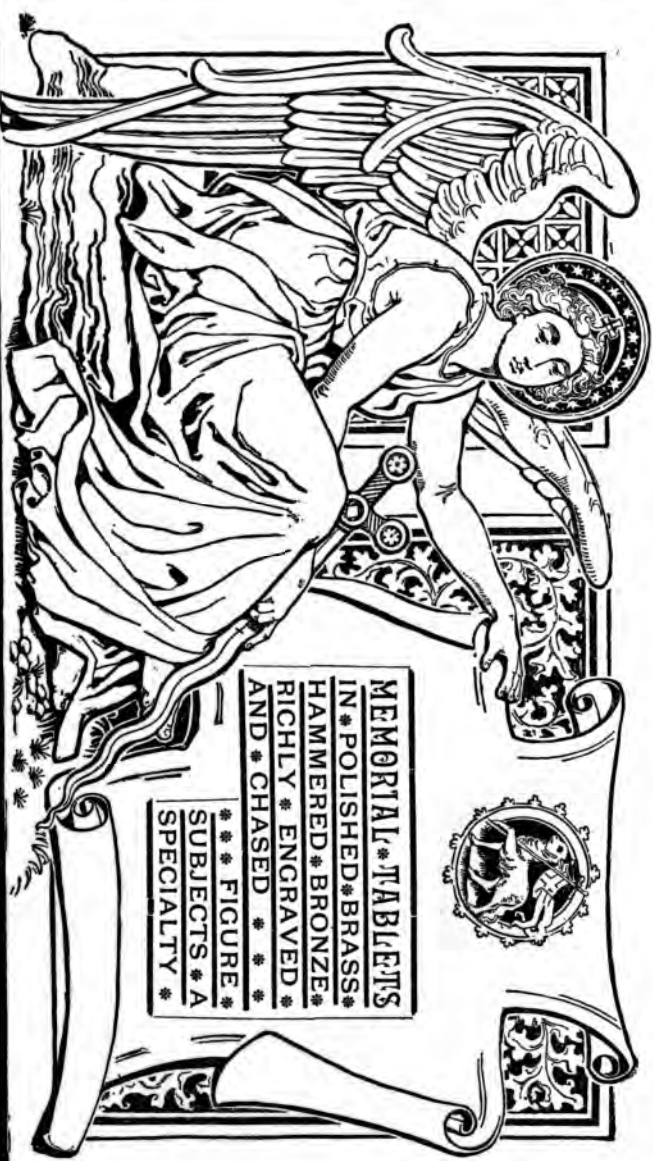
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# AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

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## THE ECONOMY OF HUMANITY.

ONE of the most remarkable features of Christianity, and which in itself is a powerful witness to its truth, is the influence it exercises on the steady progress of our race. The whole of its moral code is efficient for that purpose, either directly or indirectly, and regarding it as abstract law, and comparing its results with the more easily distinguishable effects of physical cause, it is evident that they are equally certain, but with the difference, that while physical action is, to our comprehension, more immediately decisive, moral effects are more subtle in their action, more diffuse in their ramifications, and, although apparently less bound by specific conclusions, yet are equally subject to the conditions of cause and effect.

It may be laid down as an axiom, that all things, under all conditions, are bound by law, and that the effect of law is absolutely invariable when the conditions are the same: Therefore, every action of life is the forerunner of inevitable consequences. Our comprehension embraces only two *primary* general laws, the moral and the physical. The

mental and intellectual faculties are powerful factors in elucidating them, but they are not law, they are the effects of law, possibly spiritual, about which—speaking metaphysically—we know nothing.

The generally direct action of physical law affords immediate evidence to the senses of its inviolability, and to such an extent that the solution of anything not immediately comprehended is sought for with a self satisfied assurance of its existence; but moral law embraces final conclusions which are beyond the power of calculation, and this leads to the inappreciation or perversion of its facts by the misdirection or waywardness of the human faculties of perception, and also to the immediate gratification of improper desires, through doubts as to the nature of the remote penalty, or through a false impression of the possibility of evading such penalty.

It is not the present purpose to meet objections as to the validity of the Christian Code of moral law, or the source from which it emanates. It is simply accepted as fact, even were it solely through the amount of evidence which logical reasoning, both positive and negative, can be brought to bear upon it, independently of theological considerations; but this will be considered presently.

All creation is a witness to the fact that progression is the chief feature and condition of existence, and human experience is sufficient to testify that the observance of moral law is the chief condition of progression, and also that law is a necessity required by the freedom of action of the very erratic mental and intellectual faculties; and as we have experienced in the gradual advance of ages, the way in which freedom of action has been influenced by the mental perception of its truthful results, we have only to consider what the effect would be if it were thoroughly established over the whole world, to realize its importance in every measure which represents progression. Viewing this question in all its bearings, it is one of the innumerable evidences of the consummate wisdom, past being appreciable, of the workings of the All-supreme; freedom of action combined with a law by which to regulate it, are necessary for the display of the attributes which it is in

our nature to reverence, and which could not exist so far as they relate to human affairs, without them, for then there could be no justice, mercy, love, and much more which we venerate, and the God of our reverence would simply be an imperious autocrat playing with puppets. The nature He has implanted in us shudders and rebels at the idea, and this, coupled with the fact of progression, proves it to be false.

Thus it appears, that we can find no fault with moral law as established by Christianity; the truthfulness of its immediate and positive effects is sufficiently evident to justify us in assuming that both its remote, and such of its negative effects with which we may not be familiar, are equally truthful and certain, and the question arises: If moral law so certainly ought to regulate our action, and if conformity with its rules so certainly results in prosperity and progression, to what may we attribute the widespread amount of nonconformity with them in which the world abounds? This gives rise to many considerations. We find that inanimate nature is invariably true to its conditions. Vegetation is ruled by law. Animals abide by the various instincts of species. Man alone is invested conditionally, and to a limited extent, with the power of influencing the direction of the effects of law, but not of determining them. He alone is subject to moral influences; he alone is provided with the mental and intellectual capacity to appreciate them; to him alone is the infraction of law applicable; and he alone is responsible for it; and a review of the direct and uniformly satisfactory results of law, in all matters not subjected to human influence, taken in comparison with those which human action has the power to temporarily retard or divert, goes far to prove that all the evils of life, be they emotional or physical, are consequent upon such action, and, therefore, that the first and chief condition of progression is an adherence to the principles which seem especially adapted to meet the mental and intellectual requirements consequent upon that freedom of action which would otherwise have no determinate guide.

The whole economy of humanity may be summed up

in this adherence, for all its details must be dependent upon it, which is clearly shown when we consider that the only instances in which the desirable effect of law is not directly attained are those in which man is entrusted with the exercise of a discretionary, but restricted power, to influence its direction. Objections to the consequences of its infraction are tantamount to calling in question either its validity or human freedom of action. If the former does not obtain, the truthful results in conformity with it are utterly unaccountable; and if we reject the latter, we resign all the most cherished principles which are bound up with our existence. Moreover, if we reject one we must reject both, for free agency and moral obligations are necessities of each other, and without moral law there could be no moral obligations. But it is clear that they are necessities of any existence which is not infallible, for they are the leading principles of progression, without which there would be a retrogression quite inconsistent with the evident scheme of creation, and leading either to annihilation or to a debasement which is fearful to contemplate.

Taking the fact of progression as a premise, it is competent for us to compare the results hitherto established by physical law, in their relation to humanity, with those attained by moral law, and to draw deductions from the comparison. First then let us consider physical law, because hitherto its effects have been more pronounced. Scientists have made it clear, beyond any reasonable cause for doubt, that, at some very remote period of time, the earth must have been an incandescent globe, necessarily devoid of any of the properties or qualifications which now characterize it as an abode of life—at least so far as we are able to determine, for it is not here intended to raise the question whether progression is the result of primary law, or of successive acts of creation; either will suffice for the present purpose of showing that there has been gradually and progressively established a state of things perfectly adapted to our physical requirements, from a starting point in which, to our comprehension, none of the conditions existed; and so perfect is the adaptation of matter to our material necessities, that there is no clue by which it can be metaphysic-

ally determined, whether the earth was created expressly for the abode of man, or man was fashioned in conformity with the capabilities of the earth to meet the conditions of his creation. So far then as regards its relation to humanity, physical law has apparently developed its full effects, for our senses accept and appreciate them as perfectly suitable to all their requirements; but the law itself is only recognized by the intellect through the undeviating constancy of effect. The reverse obtains in moral law, for we have a clear exposition of its full code, and although we have sufficient experience of the constancy of its action to determine it to be equally sure, yet, that action is still only in a progressive state, not imperfect in its course, but imperfect as to its ultimate attainment.

It would seem that physical law, in a progression through untold ages, has developed perfect effects, preparatory to and necessary to the advent of a higher form of law, by which the mind, the intellect, and the will are to be regulated; and not only a higher form, but a different one in its provisions, which is necessitated by the difference of the action it has been established to regulate, and which also apparently contains the first limited concession from that which is inexorable to that which is as clay in the potter's hands, by allowing a choice of its acceptance or rejection, each to be followed by inevitable consequences. We have before us to-day the transitional stage of the gradually developing effect of that law and its concession which may possibly be compared to that stage of the earth's physical progression in which the "dry land appeared" and gave a promise of the future wonders of creation, but we have now, in addition to a directly stated promise, a precedent in the perfection of physical law, to assure us that the edicts of the Almighty are immutable and perfect in their conclusions, and we are endowed with mental capacity to recognize this precedent as a guarantee of the truth of that which is established to guide us in a course wherein we have the discretion of right or wrong doing.

If then we have the full assurance that law is immutable, and perfect in its ultimate results, we may be satisfied that the present imperfect condition of the results of moral law

is only a phase in the course of their final development, which development is retarded solely by the misdirection of the discretionary power of man, for whom alone the law was apparently especially instituted, because to him alone it seems applicable.

From the above it may be deduced that as progression is a verity in the order of nature, and as the results of physical law seem to have been perfected, with regard to human requirements, as a preparatory basis for the advent of moral law, so may the perfected results of the latter be the prelude to a manifestation of a still higher form, of a purely spiritual nature, embracing still higher conditions. A conclusion which is quite consistent with the teaching of Christianity. It is however the present condition of humanity which concerns us now, and as its details are dependent and consequent upon general principles, it is only the latter which need be considered here; and without raising the question of the primary origin of evil, an inquiry into its present immediate cause is fairly answerable. For if we find that the infraction of physical law is impossible, and that its action is perfect, it is strong evidence that the evils of life exist solely through man's non-compliance with moral law; for to him alone the power of its infraction applies, and in him alone is imperfection apparent.

Knowing then the cause, the next consideration is, What is the remedy and how is it to be applied? A most difficult question to answer in detail, with the thousands of conflicting influences attending it; but there is perceptibly an inherent power of truth and righteousness in every act of creation, from which it would seem strange if man were totally excluded, and whether it takes a thousand years or one day to develop itself is determinable by Him who commands eternity. In the meantime it is apparent that the command we have received to struggle towards it, is proof that its development is to some extent entrusted to our own agency; and as in human institutions each individual claims a right to a voice in their conclusions, so in this incomparably higher matter, each is entrusted with a moral power to influence the advancement of his race, and is responsible for the consequences attendant upon the way in

which he exercises it. And those consequences extend to a much greater remoteness in their action than at first sight appears, for the endeavor to follow them through all their subtle intricacies is bewildering,

This reduces the question to one of individual responsibility, and one has only to consider the tremendous consequences which his action involves,—for whatever it is it begets its similitude in some form or other—to be impressed with the importance of its proper direction, and also to realize the fact that those consequences are not confined to himself, but spread through numberless intricate channels either for good or evil.

The present apparent exigencies of the greater portion of humanity,—which doubtless are mostly merely conventional—are opposed to the employment of time and thought necessary for the proper consideration of first principles. The mad race for money, popularity, power, personal influence, and all those things which—from being purely selfish in their nature, contain in themselves the germs of crime—have not only no tendency to progression, but are prejudicial to the perception of its true source, and contain no room in their feverish excitements for a thought of the honesty, charity, forbearance, self-denial, and all the virtues which are followed by peace, contentment, and the most solid and satisfactory enjoyments of life, and consequently the advancement of the general interests of mankind. And as cause and effect are positive and inalienable quantities, it is useless to attempt the gaining of any specific end without applying the true cause, and as there is full proof that the purest and the most rational enjoyments of life are those which are based upon the observance of moral law as established by Christianity, and which are also followed by consequences which help progression, it is satisfactory evidence that that law is infallible. We further find that the revilers of Christianity confine their animadversions to contention as to its origin, but dare not question the indisputable truth of its conclusions, which are so strong a proof of its origin. And such is its power of truth, that,—notwithstanding the liberality of the age, which fully concurs with the right of freedom of opinion—any demonstration opposed



to the principles of a pure morality meets with little encouragement from popular acclamation, and it is strong evidence of the stability of morality as taught by Christianity in minute detail, and of the power of its truth influencing our action, that, although it may not be popularly observed, it is never popularly condemned.

There is something more than hope in the fact, that the power of mind over matter—as humanly represented—has steadily increased since the time,—not a very long period in history—when might was the sole arbiter of right. Therefore, the human mind is clearly undergoing an education which will probably culminate in a true perception of the invincible might of moral truth, and the utter inutility of attempting to gain whatever ought to be the highest aims of life without its aid. The struggle is an individual one. It is against selfishness, the great opponent of that prime law of Christianity, the law of love and charity, which S. Paul,—with that foresightedness which characterizes his utterances—places before faith and hope, thereby showing—without disparaging the latter—that unanimity in supporting the general welfare, is of greater importance than the attainment of anything solely affecting individuality, for it is apparent that individual welfare is a natural consequent upon the public well-being.

The world is now in that stage in which it is only beginning to faintly recognize the infallibility of moral law, and the necessity of adherence to first principles; for, in all the affairs of life, the instances are rare of those who, having arrived at this conclusion, act up to it, in all its integrity, to the best of their ability. But where such instances do occur, what a remarkable influence they obtain over every department of life! And in this we again see that the difficulties we have to surmount are purely of a personal character, being the offspring of selfishness, from which emanate pride, sensuality, envy, acquisitiveness, and all that which is opposed to those common interests of mankind, on the support of which advancement is based.

What then are the most desirable results of life, and what is the course to pursue to attain them? It is evident that the gratification of selfishness is a temporary and evanescent

enjoyment, which not only contributes nothing towards the good which is solid and permanent, but leaves behind it a sting which is not easily effaced; and that the laws of Christianity show that, whatever may be the desire of the individual, it is to be subject to the advancement of the race, and that being attained, it is reflected on himself in a way perhaps little anticipated, but probably great in proportion to the faith he has shown in those laws by the amount of his observance of them.

There can be no gratuitous reward for well-doing, for law is immutable. The conditions for cause and effect are absolute, and the only scope for love and mercy, to be compatible with these rigid conditions, is to be found in the doctrine of Christianity. Therefore, we are bound by law to acknowledge that we are not competent to declare what are the desirable results of life, beyond those which are compatible with what Christianity teaches us to seek. And we have only to consider what the effect of the subversion of that teaching would be, to realize the chaotic state of morality which would necessarily subvert all the highest and best of human institutions and turn every principle which we cherish into a meaningless absurdity, and the progression already achieved through its influence, into a wrong step, to be retraced, and its first principles ignored.

There can also be no intermediate course to pursue, for there is no chance of effecting the slightest compromise concerning the results of its smallest details. And we are doubly bound, for while physical law is recognized solely by the constancy of effect, not only is the whole code of moral law laid before us, but its certain effect foretold, and so far as we have yet experienced we find a thoroughly truthful consistency between the cause and effect as thus foretold. Therefore, we have no alternative but to accept moral law as a perfect basis for every condition of thought or action, and in doing so we need not trouble ourselves about consequences, for they are unalterable, our freedom of action not extending beyond the choice between right and wrong, each of which leads to unconditional conclusions over which we have no control.

But truthful as are the premises we still have the fact

before us that they are accepted and acted upon by only a small minority of the human race. The question of the prime cause of evil and wrong-doing, has no place here. It is sufficient if the immediate one can be determined, for if, when determined, it can be counteracted, a break is effected in the continuity of effect which abrogates all previous cause, by determining its finality. This would be impossible if error were not an element in the question, but it is truth only which is incontrovertible.

The immediate cause then of all that is undesirable in life being man's infraction of, or non-compliance with, moral law, to what may it be attributed, and how may it be remedied? It is by no means characteristic of human nature, that, having a desirable object to attain, man tries to attain it by pursuing a wrong course, *knowing that course to be wrong*. Therefore, the chief feature in wrong doing must be ignorance; ignorance of cause and effect, of true principles leading to unerring conclusions, the lowest class of which is the ignorance of the savage, who knows of nothing worth attaining beyond the gratification of selfish desires. A more obstructive form of ignorance is that which—not being passive as the above—rejects authorized means, and follows its own course to attain selfish ends, and its possessor, through the force of the habit of self-indulgence eventually becomes effete in the power of discriminating between that which is true and that which is false. But the most deterrent ignorance—for it is accompanied by the germs of that from which there is so much to be hoped—is that of the highly gifted intellectual men, who, in the majority of instances, are moral men, but who, by some obliquity of perception, fail to recognize the true source of moral law, and credit their intellect with the invention of that which has been instilled into them by association with the facts established by the source which they ignore. An ignorance of the impotence of unaided intellect to arrive at the solution of the question of prime cause, and which fails to recognize intellect as merely an effect, an instrument of law, and purely a human attribute, having no *original* authority, solely a means by which unalterable law is conveyed to the understanding, and being human,

not necessarily correct even in that capacity. But while admitting the necessity of an advanced intellect, as a means for the comprehension of the nature, and therefore of the furtherance of progression, its fallibility is shown whenever carried away by a false conception of its power. It attempts to lead instead of to follow the course of law, by fanciful expositions of a spiritual law, based upon premises which are not sanctioned by any authority. This, being false, is detrimental to progression by its influence on intellects of lower culture, which are led away by a showy but specious form of plausible ratiocination. History, from time immemorial, abounds in instances of highly cultivated intellects seeking, by philosophical research, the solution of the mysteries of our existence; but in no instance has any one of their theories obtained a permanent footing, save such part of it as might be consistent with the teaching of Christianity; and to a logical mind, which cannot do otherwise than admit that progression is a law of nature, a convincing proof of the truth of Christianity is its invariably eventual success as a progressive power.

If, then, the non-observance of moral law is the great bar to progression, and the chief cause of it is ignorance, it is evident that the education of the mind and the intellect towards the recognition of true principles, and also the education of the will towards the suppression and avoidance of whatever is inconsistent with those principles, is the proper course to take to obtain those general advantages which we too much accustom ourselves to seek exclusively for our personal benefit alone; and it is noticeable that in the teaching of Christianity, although the strict observance of moral law is strongly emphasized, it is only regarded as a means to an end. Universal love and charity are the main points for attainment, and self-abnegation, which is a first principle of morality is a necessity which must be first acquired.

The present struggle of humanity is towards this acquirement, and universal love and charity will be consequent upon the complete triumph of moral law over its physical estrangements, and it is probable that this may be the basis of a spiritual law of which we have now only a very faint

conception; a law of too exalted a nature for the possibility of man's full compliance with it, until his utmost efforts have enabled him to fulfill the requirements of moral law, and, until released from the physical disabilities of his present and temporary condition by the dissolution of the ties which so strongly bind him to material considerations, he enters into a state of progression, of that order which has hitherto been the highest one conceivable by his limited comprehension, and which, through an eternity of time, may lead to a faint perception of the vastness of an organization which nothing but omniscience can fully realize, and which nothing but omnipotence can control.

ROBERT B. THOMAS.

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#### DR. R. HEBER NEWTON'S RATIONALISM.

*The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible.* By the REV. R. HEBER NEWTON, D. D. New York: 1883.

THIS is certainly a remarkable and melancholy book. It is published amid a choice selection of French and English novels, Broad Church literature, a few classics, and a treatise on social etiquette. The author's name is the most curiously infelicitous that can be conceived. Its first part is that of the great missionary who gave up his life for the conversion of the heathen, whose views this writer has adopted; its second part that of the mighty philosopher who comforted his great life at its close by expounding and confirming the prophecies which his namesake here pronounces childish. What would the great missionary Bishop have thought on reading, as here, that "the Sacred Books of the East," as well as his own Bible, were the work of "holy men who spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST!"\* What would Newton, in whose comprehensive

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mind dwelt the simple faith of a child, have said on being told by one who bears the echo of his name that "every prophet who goes beyond ethical and religious instruction, and ventures into predictions, makes mistakes and leaves his error recorded for our warning." "I believe I know of no one passage of the prophets," says Dr. Heber Newton, "which can certainly be said to point to any event beyond the near future of the writer."\* Something like chaos to the solar system, or "the vileness" of men, of which the sweet singer of "Greenland's Icy Mountains" speaks, compared with the fairness of nature, must this strange parody of the saint and the astronomer have seemed when thus prating of prophets who can never predict and of Buddha that already preaches the Gospel. Certainly quite as much in shame and sorrow as in indignation must any Christian man speak of the demerits of this bad book. It is as destitute of literary ability, wit or style as it is of theological learning or religious reverence, and he must be an indulgent critic who can pretend to find these latter excellences within its covers. It is simply a repudiation of the faith of Christians in the form of an attack on the Books of Holy Scripture, made up of undigested scraps of German rationalists (whose learning he has never mastered) and German and English philosophers, infidels, agnostics, and literary men who dabble in religious criticism. What the author has to say on the most important subjects that can occupy the attention of Christian layman or teacher is said without system or logic, or effort at anything like completeness or even the pretense of proof. What is much worse, the most serious things are said, or insinuated, or taken for granted, in a light and flippant way, which one is in doubt at times whether to consider as childish unconsciousness of the real gravity of the matter, or an airy *insouciance* which the author apparently thinks the proper thing in speaking to men of the world. His language, when any plain meaning can be safely extracted from it, undoubtedly means that he believes neither in Revelation nor Inspiration, in Miracle or Prophecy, according to the usual

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\*P. 18, 97.

sense of those words in Christian theologians and in Christian literature; that he has just as little belief in our Lord's Divinity, Atonement, Resurrection, as those words are understood by one in every million of intelligent Christians. Having perhaps learned in early life to substitute the Bible for the Church; when he has cast off the Scriptures he feels no authority over him, neither Bible nor Church, to which he is inclined to submit; and it is very likely that he can easily persuade himself that he is aggrieved if any one undertakes to call him to account.

We are well aware that a Church Review is not a Church Court; still, such charges must not be made even here without some measure at least of proof. Such proof, unhappily, is not hard to find in any part of the volume. If to any one the plea of mercy to the erring should seem a sufficient excuse for declining the odious and irksome task of collecting it, we would remind him that Dr. Newton does not hesitate to use the strongest, even the most vituperative language against other infidels—Ingersoll, for instance.\* It is quite likely that such an assault, should he ever hear of it, would be rather a source of amusement than otherwise to the coarse but shrewd sense of that truculent blasphemer, who would not be slow to perceive that such an adversary is already on his side. Dr. Newton's indignation against infidels is like an accomplice of wreckers, on shore after the wreck, sympathizing with those who are being robbed and murdered by his own confederates.

We propose to give a few illustrations and proofs of what we have said of Dr. Newton's style, teaching and tone. Perhaps it will be most suitable to say something of his style and tone before bringing forward the graver evidences of his unbelief and lapse from the faith. A man's character and meaning will often appear as plainly in his manner, or way of saying a thing, as in the thing said itself.

1. Dr. Newton's volume abounds in colloquialism, of which the following sentence, in his remarks upon the history of Jonah, may be taken as a specimen: "What was to become of preachers if, after they had threatened destruc-

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\* P. 59, 60, Ch. ii.

tion upon evil-doers, *the Most High went back upon them thus?*"\* This passage, on the same subject, is conceived in what might be called the *jocular consolatory* style of one who proposes to remove difficulties in another's faith by simply removing that faith itself: "In his flight occurs the marvellous experience with the big fish that has troubled dear pious people who have read as literal history what is plainly legendary. *After this fabulous episode* the story takes up its ethical thread."† Without stopping to notice the characteristic confusion of *legendary* and *fabulous* (with such a writer such a distinction is of no account) it might be pertinent to ask this teacher of religion if he has ever gotten hold of the "ethical thread" of that Biblical story of the prophet who "taught lies in the name of the LORD?" and how much worse he thinks of him than of one who can make up his mind to teach the people that the very message he has sworn to believe and deliver, as from the LORD, is itself a mass of lies? We would seriously suggest to the writer that it is much easier for ordinary, old-fashioned Christians to believe that a fish swallowed Jonah than to conceive how any person who has solemnly sworn that he "unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,"‡ and, being still in his senses, and holding the Sacred Office obtained by such a vow, could think he has a right to publish a book like "The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible." We are unable to imagine a more flagrant "wrong use" or abuse of the Bible, or of any book, than this.

We have given one instance of what we do not scruple to call a *vulgarity* in this writer's style, when speaking of what is certainly sacred, the acts of the Most High. What shall we say of a preacher who addresses his hearers in this way? "*Do not bother* with theories of inspiration!"§ He speaks to them, however, of "evanishing the real Bible" (intending to say, "causing the real Bible to vanish"), and of "the record of the visioning and embodiment of the

\* P. 56.

† P. 55.

‡ Office for Ordering Deacons, Prayer Book.

§ P. 263.



Human Ideal,"\* where no one but himself can pretend to know what he means. Similarly, he says, the prophets saw "the might of right," and dared "to vision its triumph,"† which, it is to be hoped, is something in their praise, though one cannot be very sure. Dr. Newton appears to be encouraged in these original efforts by the success of the late coinage of a verb out of the noun "voice," which he frequently adopts. Thus we have in one place, "voiced the worship,"‡ in another, "voicing such heathen imprecations in the XIX century."§ It may be worth while to say that this last expression occurs in a complacent account given by the author of his refusal, on a certain occasion, to unite with a brother clergyman in the recital of certain psalms appointed in the Psalter for that day; and this while he retains the office of clergyman, to which he had been ordained only after the solemn promise, amounting, under the circumstances, to a formal oath, that he would "diligently read all the same (Canonical Scriptures) unto the people assembled in the Church where you shall be appointed to serve."||

To proceed with the subject of style: Dr. Newton appears to take an almost childish delight in repeating a grammatical phrase with an application which he seems to consider peculiarly felicitous, and his own, since we think it occurs not less than a score of times in his little volume. The following is the first instance that meets our eye: "Religion grew through all moods and tenses toward perfection."¶ We cannot repress the conviction that had this extremely imperfect theologian been taught at the proper period by some rigorous pedagogue of the Dr. Busby type, a more radical respect for these philological realities, which he treats so airily, it would have had a salutary effect upon his thoughts on graver subjects.

Again, we read of "the religion of the Universal Church bodying round the Son of Man" (an expression which has about as much meaning as "the electricity of all connected thunder clouds materializing around an electric battery");

\* P. 76.

† P. 97.

‡ P. 8.

§ P. 86.

|| Ordination Office, Prayer Book.

¶ P. 135, ch. v.

d, again of the "disconnection of goodness and good tune;" \* and, once more, that "woman's temperament is peculiarly fitted for the inspirational influences of the Spirit" †—a statement by which this author by no means tends to convey any exalted estimate of preaching, but only by his contempt for the opinion of a certain religious teacher, whom he slightly calls "Saul of Tarsus." It is a characteristic of the jargon, which the author thinks to be an expression of the illumination that far outshines ordinary Scripture, to be extremely vague where every serious Christian thinks it incumbent to be as exact as possible, and to be very downright and absolute precisely where every true scholar would recommend modest caution and distrust. Let us give some illustrations of both these peculiarities. Is he quoting Scripture? At one time you might imagine that he intended to follow the Revised Version, at another, as in his treatment of Heb. xii. 26, ‡ that he tried to combine the Revised with the Authorized. In connection with this text from the Epistle to the Hebrews, we are favored with the astonishing information that "according to its root meaning 'learning' (*διδασκαλίαν*) a 'shaking.'" § Here again, we cannot but regret the absence of a Dr. Busby who might interrogate such a pupil as to the source of his information. A further examination will show us that, as in reference to Heb. i. 1, and Acts ii. 4, 6, 47, he quotes neither Authorized nor Revised Version, but a jumble of both. ¶ At length we shall reach the conclusion that he thinks it of no consequence to quote Scripture accurately at all. For instance: he seems to think "My joy I leave with you," to be found in S. John, xiv. 27. He is irreverent enough to bring forward as a text of Holy Writ the following abominable parody of S. Luke, i. 35. "The HOLY GHOST hath come upon thee, Humanity, and the power of the Highest hath overshadowed thee." ¶ Every one knows the summary penalty that awaits the controversialist that indulges

\* P. 141.

¶ Pp. 135, 248.

† P. 109.

‡ P. 12.

¶ P. 217.

§ P. 12.

himself in this loose style of sham quotation. Accordingly we find Dr. Newton when endeavoring to dispose by a withering criticism of a "young and eloquent Bishop" for a sermon on the mystical sense of the story of Rahab, displaying a disgraceful ignorance of the English text itself (Joshua ii. 15, 18) to which he refers.\* His sneer is at the thought "that the scarlet cord by which Rahab let down her visitors over the city wall was a type of the atoning blood of Christ." One feels ashamed at being compelled to point out that no one but Dr. Heber Newton, neither Bishop nor Sacred text, anywhere makes mention of any one let down over a city wall by a scarlet cord. He has confounded the stout "cable" (as the Hebrew word means) with "the line of scarlet thread" (quite a different thing) by which Rahab was to cause her house to be identified in the coming siege. If, after this mortifying discovery, Dr. Newton feels inclined to hang himself, we recommend him to do it with a "scarlet thread."

If one should attempt to fix the wriggling lubricities of this theologian in any definite expression, we might reach the following unsatisfactory result. What, in plain English, does Dr. Newton think of the Bible?

The early portions of the Bible, nature-myths, social traditions, symbolical stories of casuistry, 'token tales,' whose original meaning had been lost by the time they were committed to writing.† The translation of this impossible hero (Samson) into the Semitic Hercules, a solar myth.‡ Around a traditional Daniel, famed for his wisdom and piety, and possibly upon an earlier document containing some tales of this sage and saint (some devout soul) wove a story which should interpret Jeremiah's prophecy and Jehovah's purpose. Into his mouth he placed predictions of what had already come to pass in history that thus (!!) his reputation as a prophet might be established. §

*Was there any Jewish Church?* There was no Jewish Church of which Dean Stanley wrote the history. || Is there any revelation in the Bible? It records a real revelation. This revelation, however, denies no other revelation." Any inspiration? "These books are the products of a real inspiration. This inspiration, however, denies no other inspiration." ¶

\* P. 99.

† P. 84.

‡ P. 90.

§ P. 156.

|| Pp. 63, 64.

¶ P. 77.

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"Do you not think you are destroying all respect for Scripture?" By no means!

What if in these ancient writings there are ancient errors, the marvels which a child-age exaggerated into miracles, stories of savage cruelty and brutal lust in rude, rough times, acts of superstition, dark and dreadful utterances which to us are blasphemous, ascribed to the Eternal and Holy One?\*

(Then follows his unedifying castigation of Ingersoll). Have you any authority for your views of Jewish history? Yes! "Ewald, the Niebuhr of Jewish literature."† Anything else? Yes! The Acrostics in the Psalms and elsewhere, "the sure signs of a *flamboyant* and decadent literature."‡ (! !) What does it all signify? "The organic processes type the oncoming form of life."§ Christ's "throne really rests on a nation's growth of the human Ideal and Divine Image."|| What is your estimate of Christianity? "This religion of the Christ is the one religion which to-day holds the promise and the potency of further evolution."¶

It may seem ominous, but we will end these specimens of this author's loosely vague way by this characteristic repetition by him of the well worn formula of the British atheist and materialist. But now, on the other hand, Dr. Newton can be very definite on some points where a little vagueness would perhaps not be unbecoming. Do you understand the symbolism of Solomon's temple? "The symbolism of the Jerusalem temple was *thoroughly idolatrous* (!); as for example, the twelve oxen upholding the laver, and the horns of the altar—symbols drawn from the prevalent bull worship."\*\*\* Do you understand the book of Canticles? Perfectly. It came from the Northern Kingdom (Ewald says so). The Song of Songs "holds up to scorn the licentiousness that Solomon had made fashionable."††

The charming dogmatism with which this springall enemy of dogma and positive religion can thus point out the folly of Solomon's wisdom, at its best, and the idolatry

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\* P. 59.

† P. 101.

‡ P. 25.

¶ P. 73.

§ P. 27.

\*\* P. 185.

§ P. 100.

†† P. 180.

of his religion at the very moment when he supposed himself most blameless in the worship of the one God, and the certainty with which he pronounces on the author and meaning of the mysterious book, so differently expounded in all ages, will suffice as illustrations of style and tone.

2. In giving these illustrations we have inevitably anticipated something of his teaching, if a writer or preacher of this calibre can be said to teach anything. His position is a thoroughly dishonest one; it has a peculiar two-fold dishonesty in it. He would have it thought that he belongs to those who by deep research and critical sagacity (he complacently talks of "our critical glasses"\*) have discovered such grave defects in certain of the Sacred Books and in parts of others, that they must be rejected from the Canon; though he has really advanced quite beyond this. He prefers, however, to assume the position of one defending a kind of sublimated essence, or residue, which he calls the Word of God, after tearing up and throwing away such books, chapters and verses as his critical sense rejects. And this position he pretends can be sheltered under the authority of the Book of Homilies, from which he takes the motto of his book.

We propose to examine first this defense, and next the position, which, though not his own, he tries insincerely to defend. If the Book of Homilies authorized the view he pretends, it would still be far from covering the enormities of his volume. He quotes then from the Homily on Holy Scripture, as the motto for his title page, the phrase, "In it *is contained* God's true Word." There could not be a more gross outrage upon the Book of Homilies than to pretend that this little phrase, culled from its first sentence, may be made an excuse for rejecting books, chapters, or the least portion of the Canonical Scriptures. It is perfectly easy to prove this. The very sentence from which the phrase comes is an assertion that "nothing can be either more necessary or more profitable than the knowledge of Holy Scripture." Not a dozen lines after, as if to cut off all subterfuge, occurs the trenchant passage:

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\* P. 27.

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Let us diligently seek for the Will of Life in the books of the New and Old Testament, not running to the stinking puddles of men's traditions, devised by men's imagination for our justification and salvation. For in Holy Scripture is fully contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love and what to look for at God's hands at length.\*

These serious words are worthy the attention of Dr. Newton, who has not only recommended the Scriptures of Brahmins and Mohammedans, along with what he calls, in the same breath, "Jewish," and sent us again and again to German rationalists and English unbelievers (Ewald, Hegel, Spencer, Emerson, Arnold) for the true meaning of the Scriptures; but, beyond this, has had the audacity to say to Protestants: "It is a wrong use of the Bible to set it in its entirety before all classes and all ages."† Dr. Newton has appealed to the Homilies and to the Homilies he shall go for judgment on this bold assertion. We take him to Homily XXII. which treats of the hard places of Holy Scripture. Let him mark well. "As CHRIST JESUS is a fall to the Reprobate, who yet perish through their own default, so is His Word, *yea, the whole Book of God*, a cause of damnation unto them through their incredulity." To leave not a loop hole for escape this same expression occurs twice immediately after: "His Word, *yea the whole Scripture*." "God's Holy Word, *YEA EVERY WORD IN GOD'S BOOK*."‡ This we think effectually disposes of Dr. Newton's attempt upon the Book of Homilies. We commend to him this sentence, also near those just quoted:

Let us earnestly take heed that we make no jesting-stock of the Book of the Holy Scriptures. The more obscure and dark the sayings be to our understandings, the further let us think ourselves to be from God, and His Holy Spirit, who was the author of them.

Doubtless this will seem to Dr. Newton very inferior to nineteenth century illumination. Still coming from his chosen guide, we commend it to him; as also the following: "If ye will be profitable hearers and readers of the Holy Scriptures, ye must first deny yourselves . . . Reason must give place to God's Holy Spirit; you must sub-

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\* Book of Homilies, fol. Lond. 1786, Hom. 1, P. 7.

† P. 82.

‡ Hom. XXII, P. 229.

mit your worldly wisdom and judgment. Consider that the Scripture, in what strange form soever it be pronounced, is the Word of the living God." If our would-be theologian, instead of scoffing at the imprecatory Psalms, had set himself seriously to consider, and to answer if he can, such arguments in their behalf as are contained at the end of this same XXII. Homily, he would have been engaged in far more becoming work, from which benefit, and perhaps sympathy, might have come.

This outrageous attempt to pervert the plain meaning of the Homilies may serve as a warning to any who have felt inclined to trust Dr. Newton's account of what is in the Scriptures. But, as we have already intimated, even if the Homilies were as lax as this author would have us think, they would still be far from justifying his enormities. This author believes in neither revelation nor inspiration, in neither prophecy nor miracle, as the Christian world has hitherto understood those words. This doubtless seems a strange statement concerning a man who still persists in calling himself a Presbyterian of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is nevertheless quite easy of proof. "The great prophets," says Dr. Newton, "made no claim to infallibility, or if they did, took pains to disprove it. [He is trying to explain why they constantly say, "Thus saith the Lord"]]. Every prophet who goes beyond ethical and religious instruction, and ventures into predictions, *makes mistakes*, and leaves his errors recorded for our warning."\* We have already quoted his general denial of any prediction of the distant future by any prophet. Dr. Newton's idea of "ethical instruction" is the most unedifying with which we are acquainted, though we cannot say that he fails to illustrate it with continual examples in his own practice. A prophet who pretends to nothing in particular, though he keeps repeating "Thus saith the Lord," and who, whatever his pretensions, exposes himself by perpetual mistakes, is apparently a prophet after his own heart. Dr. Newton's language about miracles is in our judgment still more reprehensible.

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Perhaps Elijah's axe did swim upon the water. I am prepared to believe almost anything after our spiritualistic mediums and their expositors. Whether it did or did not concerns me no whit. I shrug my shoulders and read on.\*

Here is a pretty ethical spectacle of a priest who has solemnly sworn before God and men, that he "unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament!" We have already quoted his unseemly ridicule of the history of Jonah, and of Samson, his general characterization of the historical Scriptures as "ancient writings" containing "the marvels which a child-age exaggerated into miracles." Still even after all this he thinks fit to write as follows:

In what is said above there is no positive denial intended of the Old Testament miracles. We are in no position to deny them. The point is simply *that they are not bounden on us* in any reasonable and reverent recognition of a real historical revelation in the Old Testament.†

Perhaps some one is curious to know what Dr. Heber Newton means exactly by "a real historical revelation." He has told us. "This revelation, however," he says, "denies no other revelation." "The mischievous antithesis between the realms of the natural and the supernatural disappears." "A supposititious revelation of miracle above the real revelation which is in nature and in man" is a "false bottom to men's faith."‡ This, we must allow, is plain language. The only difficulty about the matter is to understand why the man who uses it persists in saying that he believes in "Revelation," when his words would convey to most believers, and unbelievers too, a precise denial of that very thing. We cannot account for it except as the natural fruit of his peculiar "ethical" training.

It is quite needless, we think, to interrogate this author further as to his belief; to ask, for instance, if he believes in the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. We should only be put off with the same jargon: "The normal growth through history of the Ideal Man, is the incarnation of the Divine Man."§ We have a deep and heartfelt sympathy for the shock that would have been felt, we will not say by the

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\* P. 91.

† P. 92.

‡ P. 77, 217, 43.

§ P. 217.



ancient Fathers or the great English divines, but by our own Seaburys and Hobarts, Wilsons and Chapmans, Ravenscroft and Doane, could they have suspected that unbelief would enter our branch of the Church Catholic under such passwords as this ghastly rubbish of "ideal" and "bodyings," "visionings" and "oncoming types." We believe no one would have felt more thoroughly disgusted and outraged by it all than Bishop McIlvaine.

We had intended to try and give some *genesis* of the disease which has proved so fatal to Dr. Newton, and, as physicians seek to make their worst cases instructive, to derive some instruction on the subject of Biblical criticism and interpretation, by some remarks on the whole subject, that might be of value to our younger theologians and students. But the length to which we have gone will forbid this attempt at present. It would be unfair, however, to charge the Evangelical school, with which Dr. Newton's name by ancestral associations is connected, with his aberrations. As a matter of fact, he makes very little use even of the lights of Broad Church, Maurice, Stanley, Griffith, etc., except to take mottoes from them. But he can take mottoes from Bishop Taylor, and à Kempis, with whose souls he has little in common. His real religious guides are Emerson, whom he calls "our great seer,"\* Matthew Arnold, whom he pronounces "the finest Biblical critic of England,"†(!!) and to whom he sends us for the true meaning of the Epistle to the Romans;‡ Herbert Spencer, whose "books belong to the literature of knowledge;"§ Ewald, Max Müller, Göthe, Hegel, Horace Bushnell, Chadwick, whose remarks and phrases are much more frequently quoted. It is true that our author tries to convey the idea that, after profound research and reflection, the radical views of the great scholar Ewald have had a radical effect upon his own views of Jewish history. He ostentatiously calls Ewald "the Niebuhr of Jewish literature,"|| apparently to suggest that Ewald has done for the history of the Pentateuch what Niebuhr did for the traditions of the seven kings. Still we take leave to think that he really knows

\* P. 75.

† P. 227.

‡ P. 144.

§ P. 228.

| P. 25.

very little of that able though erratic scholar's researches, either linguistic or historical. We will give one out of several reasons that suggest themselves for this opinion. Dr. Newton makes a great show of being convinced by Ewald of the later origin of Leviticus (after the captivity) and of the primitive character of the book Deuteronomy. Now the fact is well known to all Biblical critics (except Dr. Newton, whom we beg to refer to the Speaker's Commentary, as being perfectly easy of access), that Gesenius, de Wette, Ewald and Bleek unhesitatingly affirmed that Deuteronomy was written long after the rest of the Pentateuch. At the same time we do not deny that Ewald was capable, in a moment of pique, especially to emphasize his antagonism against his former master Gesenius, with whom he had quarreled, of turning about, and in company with Von Bohlen, Faber, Falke, George, Reuss, etc., espousing precisely the opposite opinion, (as the English Dr. S. Davidson did in successive editions of his "Introduction,") namely, "that Deuteronomy is more ancient than any other part of the Pentateuch."

This disaster of Dr. Newton, which might have been expected to happen to any Neophyte venturing into such troubled waters, is a fair illustration of the kind of help to be derived from the profound researches and speculations of German Biblical criticism. Theological or Scriptural truth and certainty are with them an unknown quantity, for the detection of which they have nothing analogous to mathematical methods. German methods have been very humorously and graphically pictured by one who after years of ardent following, became in age a good deal *disillusioned*. We refer to the late Mr. Carlyle and here present a small quotation from him:

Spiritual Atrophy, the flaccid Pedantry, ever rummaging and re-arranging among learned marine stores, which thinks itself Wisdom and Insight; the vague maunderings, fleetings, indolent, impotent, day-dreaming and tobacco-smoking of poor modern Germany.\*

Had space permitted we should like to have called atten-

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\* Frederick the Great, B. III., c. 7, Vol. I., p. 200, Am. Ed.

tion to a few of the great and vital principles which can never be forgotten in any useful or fruitful study of the Inspiration, authority or criticism of Holy Scripture. Perhaps we may be indulged in briefly indicating a few of these.

Laying narrow technicalities aside, no view of the inspiration of the Bible is of any religious value or significance, which does not recognize the fact that this Book contains (as Lord Bacon says) the thoughts of GOD, as other books contain men's thoughts. Its unity lies simply in its Author, who from beginning to end, in various ways, by language and by symbols, by teachers of every kind, by prophecy, history, miracle, religious rites, individual experience, song, proverb, law, preaching, utters His own plan and purpose. Men are as likely to find difficulties in GOD's Book, which is His word, as in His works. It is indeed likely, as Bishop Butler has unanswerably shown, that difficulties and mysteries would emerge in the one similar to those in the other. That profound and just reasoner rightly maintains that this fact is really a confirmation of, rather than an objection to, Religion. But it is plain that no teacher who really believes in the Inspiration of the Bible could ever utter a general denial of the power to predict the future, or the possibility of a miracle. The GOD who there speaks and works has omniscience and omnipotence. He can put into man's imperfect language a sure prediction of the future event which may serve in time to come as a sign to faith, as easily as His power can put forth operations amid the present creation that may be an infallible sign to His intelligent creatures of the presence of their maker. Not less certain than the reality of prophecy and miracle is the substantial harmony of teaching through every part of the Inspired Book. The spiritual truths thus taught, whether directly, or by acted history and parable, or by symbol, are the Revelation of Holy Writ. It is either supernatural or nothing at all but the vague guesses, suggestions, searchings of all other books.

At first thought it might seem impossible that any sound mind could confound conceptions so radically distinct. It is certainly an interesting inquiry how it has come about that profound, serious, learned writers have spent their

days turning over the documents of Religion, speculating on their origin, arranging and re-arranging their contents, and yet not merely at the end, but all through their labors, profess to correct, amend, explain, systematize, receive a part and reject a part, precisely as they do the Sanscrit, or Greek, or Latin classics. They apply religious terms, catechisms, dogmas, theology, to the results of their labors, notwithstanding the fact that they evidently regard the thoughts with which they are engaged as the thoughts of men, and, not of God, in any peculiar sense, or in any sense not applicable to other writings.

We suppose that the element that has dropped out, and so rendered these abnormal processes possible, is that element vital indeed to every idea of religion, which we call authority. No religion was ever really embraced by the soul except on the belief that it came from God. Its truths are held, not because we have proved them, or discovered them, or feel their excellence or reasonableness, but because God has told them to us. He can speak to us directly; but His usual method of conveying to us gifts and privileges of all other kinds as well as the truths of religion, is by the agency of other beings, and they who are empowered to teach us religion are by this very fact invested with authority. And this teaching, like all valuable or thorough teaching is by personal communication. Books are an aid to this personal agency, but can never be a substitute for it. And yet the notion that a Book or a volume of collected books, every sentence of which was written by the act of God's Holy Spirit, and then sent forth to be circulated up and down the world, for all ages, sexes, conditions to find their religion by reading it, with as little external help as possible, is the conception of religion held by the Protestant world, the learned theologians of Germany included.

From so preposterous a theory many of the results that have followed might have been anticipated. The inquiring mind discerns first that the Book though called one, is, in fact, composed of many parts or books. It knows no reason why it should retain any one in the collection against its own sense of fitness, and the same cause that would im-

pel it to reject an entire book would also seem to justify it in throwing away the repugnant part of any book. If the destructive process in any of its stages happen to be discouraged by a learned and devout man or even by a series of such, like Neander, Olshausen, Stier, Hengstenberg, Kurtz, Auberlen, on the other hand it will find plenty of encouragement from an equally learned succession--Gesenius, Ewald, Baur, De Wette, Bleek, Von Bohlen, etc. To reconcile the various oracles of Rationalism with one another will not be found more difficult than it is often found to reconcile any one oracle, in his successive editions, with himself. It is affirmed that historically the first impulse of the German Rationalists can be shown to have come from the English Deists. In the present generation Germany has re-turned the stream back to England. The seven notorious essayists and reviewers reproduced German speculations with very little originality. The unfortunate Colenso, in his tedious volumes on the Pentateuch, tried to cipher out in a dull, mechanical way that savored more of the arithmetician or heavy merchant than of the scholar, some neological computations, that had not even the negative merit of the ability and originality of their authors. The conjectures, surmises, and hypotheses upon Old Testament history put forth by Professor Robertson Smith, and with great patience, ability, and, we think, success, followed and answered by Professor Green in the *Presbyterian Review* last year, we venture to think do not bring forward a single point that would present the least novelty to one acquainted with German theologians of the last fifty years; though it would be a tedious and unprofitable task to verify this statement point by point. The repetition of a guess by a dozen people does not add a particle of evidence to history; nor do we think that even the occurrence of the same guess to several ingenious minds, who surrender themselves to the charms of conjecture, adds anything of value to the probability of historical facts. The classical fables of the Danaides and of Sisyphus punished in Hades, or of Saturn devouring his own offspring, we think more fitly represent the real worthlessness of such endless toils. Or, without going so far, Mother Goose precisely tells us the

sagacity and advantage of the Rationalist's critical labors in her lively apologues of the man and the bramble bush, and the King of France and his twenty thousand men. Or, recurring to Mr. Carlyle's humorous comparison, if our friends prefer it, the rummaging and re-arranging of marine stores will never add a particle of fresh provisions to the ship.

People of real religion, believers in Revelation, must endeavor to reach a safer and more sensible view of the nature of Holy Writ, and to make up their minds, by the way, to despise silly outcries of alarm, like, for instance, the mad-dog cry of "Popery!" God's Word, or Revelation to man, was not a big composite book, written or printed and then thrown by itself upon the world. God's Revelation was a Kingdom or Church set up at the beginning, long before a page of the Scriptures, either of the Old Testament or of the New, was written. The Scriptures bear the same relation to the Kingdom of God as the written laws or statutes bear to an earthly kingdom, some of whose laws are unwritten. The laws of every great government are interpreted by itself through its judicial officers appointed to guard and interpret them. No citizen was ever allowed to be the sole judge of the laws that apply to his own affairs. This very absurdity, and even greater anomalies than this, are implied in the common Protestant notion about the Bible. This venerable volume is, in fact, the Constitution and Book of Statutes of the Kingdom of God, given by degrees throughout the whole of its mighty history—which has far outlasted every earthly dominion—and containing along with laws and worship and ritual, history, precedent, instruction by precept and example, prophecy and ethical principles. It would seem impossible that any sensible mind, not disturbed by prejudice, though very slightly acquainted with the contents of this wonderful Book, could dream that it has any right to oppose any private view of the leading outlines of its history and doctrine to the traditional interpretation of the mighty kingdom, whose possession and Statute Book it is. Such a claim is like the impertinence of a Communist or *doctrinaire* standing up in an English or American court and bringing charges of ig-

norance and radical error against Coke and Littleton, Blackstone and Mansfield, Story and Kent. It is not an endless labor to possess one's self of all that may really be known of the number and value of the MSS. of the Old and New Testament. It is an accomplishment whose importance can hardly be over-estimated in a religious teacher, to have a personal and familiar knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek tongues. The linguistic skill and sagacity of a Gesenius or an Ewald may be most thankfully acknowledged and profitably used. Doubtless their very conjectures and hypotheses deserve great respect from inferior scholars. But we do not hesitate to pronounce it a gross and monstrous abuse of their high gifts and attainments, and even liable to bring their very excellences into discredit, to affect to reconstruct out of their own brains the Jewish history in utter defiance of all the traditions of the Jews themselves. The individual authors of these monstrous theories attempt to escape responsibility and exposure by perpetually shifting their ground and modifying their hypotheses. When driven to bay and asked for proof of some particular enormity, they may not resort to such blasphemy as Ewald is reported to have uttered to an inquirer, that he has "received his knowledge from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost;"\* but if they speak truly they will have to own that their startling statements rest after all on nothing more solid than guess work, while nothing short of a new Revelation could really justify them. The disgusted student of Rationalism is constantly rewarded after wearisome toil with the miserable discovery that the dogmatism, the contradictions, the unfounded assertions which the great oracles of unbelief impute to theology and theologians and orthodoxy, are, in fact, nowhere more abundant and flagrant than in their own criticisms and reconstructions of the Sacred History and Exegesis.

Let the rising generation of young men in the theological schools learn to detect and to despise this affectation and parody of real learning. We do not shrink from saying that no linguistic genius, however shining, no historical

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\* See "Dr. Pusey on Daniel," *Int. P.* lxi.

scholar, whatever his attainments, is to be heard for an instant, who thinks he knows the history or the doctrine contained in the Bible better than the Church of God. History cannot be constructed out of the inner consciousness. If neither the Jewish nor the Christian Church knows who wrote the Pentateuch, we shall never know it except by a new Revelation. Certainly we shall never learn it from Ewald. We advise those who desire to become teachers of religion rather to listen to a greater genius, Pascal, who joined to an acuteness, never surpassed, humility and holiness equally admirable, and found in the Jew's preservation of their own traditions and of their sacred books, a proof sufficient to establish our religion, were every other evidence removed from view.

GEORGE W. DEAN.

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## FASTING COMMUNION:

WITH A COROLLARY ON THE MAUNDY-THURSDAY CELEBRATION.

*The Duty of Fasting Communion*, a sermon. By F. N. OXENHAM, M. A. London: 1873.

*Fasting Communion*. Historically investigated from the Canons and Fathers, and shown to be not binding in England. By the Rev. HOLLINGWORTH TULLY KINGDON, M. A., 2d edition. London: 1875.

*Evening Communions Contrary to the Teaching and Practice of the Church in all Ages*. By Rev. H. P. LIDDON, with notes and a postscript on some points in Mr. Kingdon's work on Fasting Communion (by W. B.,) 2d edition. London: 1876.

*Manual of Instruction for Classes Preparing for First Communion*. By the Rev. FERDINAND C. EWER, D. D. New York: 1882.



*The Private Prayer Book*, Compiled by a Parish Priest.  
New York: 1882.

*The Christian Year Kalendar*, 1883. New York.

IN a Church weekly, designed to instruct the young, there appeared, some three years since, a story on "Reverence." It is too long for insertion here. The substance of it was this:

Two young people, on their knees in Church, are discovered to be talking cheerily to each other. Their attitude of reverence was a mockery and a sham. Then follows the narrative of a case of "*true* reverence." An old Irish lady, living a mile from Church, for seventy years a communicant, persisted in her habit of rigid fasting, taking "not a mouthful of food till after reception of the Blessed Sacrament," at a mid-day celebration. She was old and infirm, and often would fall by the way through weariness and weakness, and so make herself "bruised and lame." She would be two hours on her fainting and painful journey, resting on many a door-step, but persisting in her life-long habit. "I never would eat anything before I partook of the Holy Food, and I am too old to begin to do it now." And this simple-hearted devotion of the old lady to her idea is commended as an example of "*true* reverence surpassing that of a great majority of Church people of this day."

A clerical brother of a distant Diocese, some two years since, excused himself from assisting at the Holy Communion because, traveling as he was for his health, he had by order of his physician, taken his breakfast, and so could not receive. The sermon named at the head of this article was among the first, of many little tracts, manuals, and essays that have lately appeared, in which this duty of a rigid fast before Holy Communion has been asserted. "*No food or drink: to be taken from midnight till after reception.*" This is exalted into a law, declared to have been a universal custom from the Apostle's days, binding on the conscience now. Mr. Oxenham says to communicate after food "is something God has forbidden." Others speak of it as a great offence, if not a mortal sin. The three *libella*, whose

titles are last named above, state the duty, as it is called, in milder words, but in full positive terms. "It was the reverent custom of the Church from the Apostles' times, and in all parts of Christendom, for the first 1500 years, to receive only fasting." \* \* \* "The *universal custom*, \* \* \* reiterated Canons of the Church appeal to us with very solemn and binding force." *Ewer*, p. 84: "For the sake of deep reverence to the Blessed Sacrament of CHRIST, you will not receive it except as fasting from midnight, and before earthly food has passed your lips, unless your health require otherwise. *This is the rule of the Universal Church*," *Private Prayer Book*, pp. 163, 164. "It was the *universal law of the best and purest days* of the undivided Church." "It must be borne in mind that the Church of England has *never* repealed the law which binds her priests and people \* \* \* *never* to communicate otherwise than fasting, and what we mean by fasting in this case is *total abstinence* from every kind of food or drink, *even in the very smallest quantities*, from the preceding night. Persons dangerously sick are the only ones in whose favor any relaxation is permitted," etc., etc. *The Christian Year Kalendar*, pp. 78, 80 (Italics ours).

Such teachings, persistently set forth, are having some effect. There is here a sweeping positiveness of assertion that is amazing. The general practice of *this* Church is arraigned and condemned, as if there was, and could be no dispute. No wonder tender consciences are troubled, and hearts made sad, and existing customs of the Church brought into contempt and neglect. For, if these men are right, most of our communicants must violate the rule, or turn the weekly feast into a fast-day, with great physical weariness, and distraction to many, and positive injury to some. Is this the reasonable service our Master requires? Must His command, "Do this in remembrance of Me," become so painful, or else be neglected, because His Holy Supper is not prepared before breakfast? Or is it one of those ordinances of men, of which our dear Lord might say, "Why do ye transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?"

It was our happiness for ten years in a Southern city to

have a full attendance at 7 A. M. every day in Lent. On Sunday it was usually a Eucharistic service, and at the sweetest of all hours. But very many did not come; some could not, because of home duties, or because the walk and the time spent before breakfast made them ill. Physicians averred that some constitutions could not endure the fasting attendance and the early exposure. Many persons who began Lent zealously were obliged to forego the early service altogether, and especially as the warm spring opened. To many communicants our advice was to take some food first, and if that did not prevent faintings and headaches, not to come to the Communion till a later hour.

Bishop Kingdon\* says, well; "Anything that disturbs devotion and earnestness detracts from due reverence." "If real reverence be desired, some are compelled to obviate extreme distraction and anxiety by some slight partaking of food." Our observation and experience are that this is true of very many persons, even when Holy Communion is celebrated at a very early hour; and that *most* persons will feel this uneasiness and distraction and painful weariness if they attempt to fast till midday. It seems not to have occurred to those who think that in so doing they follow the early Church, that there was a rule, often declared and abundantly witnessed to, forbidding to turn Sunday into a fasting day (see page 30).

Our counter propositions are:

1st. That such fasting communion *is not*, but quite the contrary *is*, intimated in Holy Scripture.

2d. That there is no evidence that for 390 years of the

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\*The author of "Fasting Communion historically investigated," etc., is now Bishop-Coadjutor of Fredericton, N. B. The Rev. Wm. Adams, D. D., in the March number of the CHURCH REVIEW, says of this work: "It is one of those books of which the English Church has been so productive—books full of original learning, and investigation, and honest zeal for the truth, and yet they are not and cannot be popular. Such works strike and decide it may be only one point, but that is settled for all time, and men know it." He ranks it with such books as "Laud's Reply to Fisher," "Butler's Analogy," and "Faber on Election." To this we heartily assent. It is, however, too solid and exhaustive a book to keep its place before the common eye. We seek to recall attention to it as to a *work that has NEVER BEEN ANSWERED*.

Christian era, *any* rule for fasting communions was ever formulated in any part of the Church.

3d. That there is no proof that for 1,000 years of the Christian era *such* fasting communion was a universal custom.

4th. That the canons cited in support of it are late, few, of doubtful interpretation, and of local application; and not one of them of oecumenical force.

5th. That "fasting," in the writings of early centuries, did not mean what has of late been asserted.

I. First, as to Holy Scripture. It is hardly necessary to enumerate the occasions. The Institution, the breaking of bread at Emmaus, S. Luke xxiv, (if, indeed, it was a Eucharistic act at all); S. Paul's breaking bread at Troas, Acts xx: 7, 11; the disorderly celebrations at Corinth; all accompany and follow the reception of food. S. Paul tells the Corinthians *to eat at home* if they be hungry (*i. e., before they leave home*), so as not to come together to condemnation.

In regard to Acts xx., 7, Dr. Liddon suggests as possible, that they came together at sunset, Saturday; "the first day of the week," according to Hebrew computation, beginning then; and that "the breaking bread," being after midnight, was *an early communion on Sunday morning*. He does not press the point. It will not bear pressing. Nothing but the Apostle's eloquence, and the fact that it was his farewell, kept the meeting till after midnight. Ordinarily they would get through long before that hour. It indicates a custom.

Whitby, and the writer in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, and others, think the "breaking of bread," Acts ii, 42, 46, indicates the free, joyous hospitality of those early days. But the weight of exegetical opinion, including not only our great divines, but also Calvin, Bengel, Mosheim and Olshausen, is in favor of a technical sense, referring to the sacramental "breaking of bread." One passage, 1 Cor. x., 16, bears this way: "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of CHRIST?" And in the next chapter (xi.) is the account of their disorderly practices at this sacramental feast.

This exhausts the Scripture argument, except as 1 Cor. xi. 34, "the rest will I set in order when I come," is made to sustain a vast amount of inference, as to a custom of fasting communion then established by the Apostle, and thence becoming universal and so perpetuated. This vast amount of inference may, like an inverted pyramid, rest on this one small base, *if* the custom be primitive and universal. To this question we next turn.

II. No rule for fasting, as a preparation for Holy Communion, as far as any one knows, was ever formulated till A. D. 393. No trace of any earlier rule exists. There was some talk, 250 years ago, about a lost Nicene Canon. No one rests any weight on it now. It arose from one misunderstood word, in a speech made by two Moorish Bishops in a council at Carthage in A. D. 419.\* Bishop Kingdon's argument is simply unanswerable.

III. Universal primitive custom. Pliny's letter to Trajan, A. D. 104 or 106. While pro-prætor of Bithynia, he, by torture, obtained from two deaconesses a sort of confession of what was done at the secret service of the Christians. He wrote thus to the Emperor:

On a stated day they are wont to meet, before daylight, to pray responsively to Christ as God, *to bind themselves by oath* not to commit any wickedness, not to steal, etc. These things being done, it is their custom to go away and come back again to take food together—a kind of common harmless meal.

It is, we think, generally admitted that Mosheim's opin-

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\* The passages: *De Fide Nicæni tractatus audivimus; verum et de sacrificiis inhibendis post prandium, ut a jejuniis, sicut dignum est offerantur, et tunc et nunc confirmatum est.* "We have heard about the faith of the Nicene Council, and also about prohibiting Eucharists after luncheon (or dinner); that they should be offered only by fasting men as is right; it was confirmed both *then* and *now*." At Councils in those days, the Nicene Creed was read and reaffirmed as the faith of the Church. At the Council canons of previous Councils in Africa also were read and approved. The language of the Moorish Bishops showed they had the Canon of Hippo in mind. Both then and now, *tunc et nunc*, means at Hippo, and now at Carthage. "W. B.," in his strictures on Bp. Kingdon's book, says: To connect those words with the preceding as if the enactment were Nicene, is absurd enough, and the *tunc*, as Mr. Kingdon says, clearly refers to the Council of Hippo. See "Evening Communion," etc., p. 39.

ion is correct, that the Lord's Supper was, in connection with the love-feast, a part of their worship when they came back again. The many allusions to their *agapae*, the controversy as to whether they preceded or followed the Eucharist seem clearly to confirm this view. Bingham says, Bk. xv., c. vii., § 7:

They observed no certain rule; but had their feast sometimes before, sometimes after the Communion, as it appears to have been in some measure in the following ages.

But a controversy has grown up about a Latin word in the above extract, "to bind themselves by oath," etc. The Latin is "*se sacramento obstringere*." Bingham, Dr. Liddon, and others say that the phrase should be "they are wont \* \* \* to pledge themselves in the sacrament." But aside from the fact that as far as we know all of the older translations of Pliny's letter give to *sacramentum* its classical meaning, a sacred oath, it may be questioned whether at this time it had become a theological term. Greek was the language of the Christian writers. The two tortured Greek deaconesses could hardly have used Latin. It was Pliny's word, and is to be understood in its usual acceptance among Latins.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 140 or 150, is the next and the first Christian writer cited by Dr. Liddon. And yet Justin Martyr says *not one word* that bears on the subject of an evening, or of a fasting communion. One inexact rhetorical passage only is quoted about "the food blessed by the Word of God, being no longer common food, but the very flesh and blood of Him, the Incarnate JESUS." And this is quoted to indicate that this awful mystery could not have been what some, Dean Stanley, for instance, have made it—a mere appendage to a common evening meal. Dr. Liddon *seems to cite* Justin as on his side, in regard to morning communions. Justin nowhere says a word that indicates the time of day when their Eucharist was held.

Tertullian, the first Latin Father, A. D. 200, is next cited. Three quotations are made by Dr. Liddon. The first does not touch *our* question. The second quotation is about the hardships of the Christian wife of a heathen man. He asks,

“Will not the heathen husband accuse you of using magic art, when you rise at midnight to pray? When you cross yourself? Will he not know what you taste before all food? *Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes?*” Dr. Liddon contends that this means that she took the Sacrament before *any other food* on the day in which she communed. But *ante omnem cibum*, is *before all food*, *i. e.*, before every reception of food; or it may mean *in preference to all other food*; as when Cicero says, “*te ante me diligit*,” “he loves you *more than me*.” Tertullian says nothing to indicate the time of day. As a translation Dr. Liddon’s is the least strict. The practice of receiving the sacrament, carrying it home and taking it privately, self-administered, was a prevalent one in Tertullian’s day. “Before all meals,” is the likeliest translation.

The next quotation from Tertullian is urged by Dr. Liddon with great earnestness, *De Corona*, xiii., 3. “*Eucharistice sacramentum \* \* \* in tempore victus \* \* \* mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus \* \* \* sumimus.*” Words and phrases introducing other ideas are here left out for the sake of clearness and conciseness. Dr. Liddon contends that *etiam* should be rendered *even*, and thence would claim this passage as evidence of universal, exclusive usage. But whether it be translated *even* or *also*, it cannot be so exclusive. Tertullian is contending for the obligation on private observance, of customs and usages, even if in minor particulars they deviate from Apostolic or even Divine example. He speaks of changes made in the accompaniments of baptism; the disowning of Satan, the trine immersion, the tasting of honey and milk at the baptism, and the abstinence of one week from the bath. Then of the Eucharist: “We *also* take,” or “we take *even*” before daylight the sacrament of the Eucharist, which the LORD commanded to be eaten at meal-time.” Then he speaks about offerings for the dead, on the anniversary of their birth or death, then about not deeming it lawful on Sunday, Whit-Sunday, or Easter, to fast or to kneel in worship; and then about crossing themselves when going out or coming in, when dressing or bathing, or eating or put-

ting on their shoes, or lighting lamps, etc., etc.\* Now, out of this congeries of customs, to be observed in Tertullian's age and country, because they *were* traditions and customs, although not enjoined, and even variations from what was enjoined, it does seem a great strain to select one, and thence to claim for it universal and exclusive usage, and by inference, Apostolic origin and binding obligation. *Per contra*, might we not claim this whole passage, *Eucharistic change and all*, good for what it is worth, for obligation to conform quietly to usages and customs, and take the sacrament of the Eucharist instituted at meal-time by our LORD, when it is offered to us, before dinner *also*, or *even* after breakfast?

Whenever danger menaced the Christians they would meet very early, while yet dark, and have their Holy Communion, and take home by permission (sometimes at least) the consecrated elements, to communicate themselves in private, and without a thought of establishing a *rule in either practice* for the whole Christian world. This line of thought disposes of Dr. Liddon's next authority, in a quotation from Cyprian, A. D. 250. The Decian persecution was raging. Devotional and Eucharistic assemblies were held before daylight (though we never imagined any one thought that nowhere in the empire was there ever any daylight service). The Aquarii, *i. e.*, the water-men, used only water in their early celebrations, and then at a service after dark (whether Eucharistic or not is a disputed point), introduced, as kind of a make-up a mixed chalice of wine and water. Cyprian writes to Caecilius, Epis. lxii. (Ox. ed. lxiii.). The epistle is quoted in favor of the mixed chalice. He gives some fanciful reasons, and seems to teach that the absence of the water is as serious a want as the absence of the wine. He insinuates that fear of detection, through the smell of the wine in their breath, was the reason why the Aquarii used water alone in their early celebrations.

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\* Can we imagine that in this gathering together of departures from primitive usage, Tertullian would have failed to say the Eucharist, which was at first given by our LORD to His Apostles after supper, we take before any other food, if such had been either the rule or the universal custom?



He gives some good reasons for the change from evening to morning, and claims Apostolic origin. "We celebrate in the morning," is his language. But he says not a word as to the hour, nor about fasting as a rule for reception. Some make him say "*in the very early morning.*" But the word is simply *mane*, in the morning, as opposed to the evening.

We have now referred to every Ante-Nicene authority that is cited by Dr. Liddon. He is contending against "Evening Communion," and only indirectly for Communion so early as to imply strict fasting. Anything in favor of such fasting Communion would greatly strengthen his argument. We may safely conclude then, that nothing can be said further to establish the fact of such a custom anterior to A. D. 325. Bingham says, indeed, that in Tertullian's time "the Communion was always received fasting." He does not give any authority beyond what we have examined. He is a very learned author, but often confounds places and dates; even he admits that the custom was not universal "in the following ages." Indeed, Bingham, in the passages already quoted (Book XV., c. vii, 57), contradicts himself when he says of the agape of the primitive Church, that it was held "*sometimes before, sometimes after* Communion, as it appears to have been in some measure in the following ages."

Dr. Liddon passes at once over a period of 150 years to S. Augustine, A. D. 402. His article was first printed in 1860 in the *Christian Remembrancer*. W. B. (Canon Bright of Oxford) reproduced it in tract form in 1876, with notes and a postscript containing a few strictures on Bishop Kingdon's work. W. B. is an advocate for a strictly fasting Communion. He cites four authorities that Dr. Liddon had omitted. 1st. S. Basil, A.D. 375, "A priest can do nothing without fasting;" so general as to prove nothing. 2d. Rufinus about the same time visits Egypt and finds two Abbots who used to take no corporal food till they had received the spiritual food of the Communion of CHRIST. Hardly noteworthy if a universal thing. 3d. Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, about the same time, is asked whether one who is fasting in order to communicate, and who

should inadvertently swallow a little water, should be allowed to receive. A mere case of discipline, perhaps self imposed. The question was whether he had so failed in his rigid rule of preparation as to be disqualified to receive. But this is the case of one fasting in order to communicate. Nothing said about *all* communicants fasting in order to communicate, and that from midnight. It was an exceptional case. 4th. S. Ambrose A. D. 374.

The fast has been proclaimed; take heed, neglect it not. *If hunger is forcing you to take daily luncheon or dinner, or if lack of self-restraint declines the fasting, yet keep yourself all the more for the celestial banquet.* Do not let the feasts prepared force you to be empty of the heavenly food.

We cannot agree with Bishop Kingdon in saying that S. Ambrose means, "If you are really unable to keep the fast, and are driven to eat luncheon (or dinner), yet, nevertheless, take Communion." We must admit that S. Ambrose advises his people to resist appetite and forego the luncheon. The Latin of the passage in Italic is, "*Si te fames quotidianum cogit ad prandium, aut intemperantia declinat jejunium, tamen coelesti magis te servate convivio.*" There is a struggle between inclination and the Lent discipline. "Neglect not the fast," says S. Ambrose, and then adds, "put it off a little while," *i. e.*, the luncheon, not the Sacrament.

But while thinking that S. Ambrose meant this we note two things: 1st., he is speaking of a proclaimed Lenten fast, an Ecclesiastical fast, a fast which varies in length and severity according to the judgment of the ecclesiastical authority that imposes it. He is advising his people to keep the fast thus proclaimed. But not a word about a rigid fast for all, on all occasions, from midnight. For 2dly, observe S. Ambrose says not a word about breakfast, *jentaculum*. It is *prandium*,\* the luncheon or early dinner. This abstained from, they are in a fasting condition and ready for the Holy Communion. Let us bear this in mind as we

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\* *Prandium* is translated by W. B. "*the morning meal.*" It is a misleading translation. The reader would understand breakfast. But *prandium* is, according to Ainsworth, *dinner, the midday meal*, at 11-12 o'clock. W. B. makes the same mistake in the translation of the next passage from S. Augustine.

come to the one great stock quotation from S. Augustine, A. D. 402. It is as follows:—Ep. iv.

It is very apparent that when the disciples first received the Body and Blood of the LORD they did not receive fasting, yet does any one now blame the Universal Church because it is always received by fasting men? For so it pleased the HOLY GHOST that, for the honor of so great a sacrament, the LORD's Body should enter into the mouth of a Christian *before* other food. And therefore this custom is observed throughout the whole world. Nor, because the LORD gave it *after food*, ought the brethren on this account to come together to receive the Sacrament, *having just dined or supped*, (*pransi aut coenati*) or mix it up with their tables as they did whom the apostle blames and corrects. \* \* \* But a certain laudable reason has pleased some, that on one certain day in the year in which the LORD gave the supper itself, as if for a more significant commemoration, it might be lawful for the Body and Blood of the LORD to be received *after food*.

We take the liberty to *italicise* some words to emphasize the contrast between the expressions, *before food* and *after food*. It might be as accurately expressed *before a meal* and *after a meal*. There is not a word in this whole letter of S. Augustine's hinting at the idea of before *any food* on any given astronomical day. "Our LORD instituted the LORD's Supper *after a supper*; that is no reason why men should now receive it *after dinner* or *after supper*, contrary to the custom of the Church, which is, that the LORD's Body should enter the mouth of a Christian *before* other food, not *after* it or mixed with it." This is S. Augustine's argument. The custom was, communion before the *prandium*—call it lunch or dinner; it was the first heavy meal of the day, and taken at eleven o'clock or after. He affirms it a custom of the Universal Church. We do not doubt it, and we are willing to admit that this change was early made and in deference, probably, to an Apostolic ruling. But the point here, too plain to be missed, is that men, *non-pransi* or *non-coenati* are the *fasting men* in S. Augustine's mind: and he is in accord with S. Ambrose.

This conclusion is confirmed by the consideration of the whole letter. It was written to a certain Januarius about the different customs on Maundy Thursday, and the way some people broke their Lenten fast. The fact that the Eucharist was instituted *after supper*, seems to have been an excuse with some for having a feast before Holy Com

munion on this day. The question that agitated the mind of Januarius was, not the propriety of the Holy Communion after a meal, but whether it was right so to *break the Lenten Fast*. Bear all this in mind, then weigh well these words of S. Augustine which follow on in immediate connection with the quotation above. "But I think it more becoming that this be done (*i. e.* the administration of the Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday,) at such an hour that one who shall have kept his fast may come to the oblation before\* the refectio which comes at three o'clock." And now note what follows right on in immediate connection. "For this reason we compel no one to take luncheon (or dinner) before *that* Lord's Supper† but on the other hand, we can forbid none."

There is one other quotation of the same date, urged by the advocates of fasting communion, viz: one from S. Chrysostom, A. D. 404. It is wielded with stunning force, as if it were indeed a *settler*. This is the way it is put in *The Christian Year Kalendar*, 1883, p. 78.

We are not surprised to find S. Chrysostom in the fourth century (fourth year of the fifth century, it should be) indignantly replying to those who had accused him of having given the Eucharist to people who were not fasting. ("After *they had eaten*" is the right wording). If I have done any such thing let my name be blotted out of the roll of Bishops, nor be inscribed in the book of the Orthodox faith. Since, lo! if I have done any such thing CHRIST also will cast me out of His Kingdom.

There the quotation stops. We go right on:—

But if they once say this to me, and are contentious, let them degrade Paul who, *after supper*, baptized a whole household; let them degrade the

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\* I accept *ante* instead of *post* as the probable reading. To my mind it is more easily understood. The question was: Shall a man take a meal before Communion? S. Augustine thinks it better so to arrange it as to allow one to come on that day *after* taking *prandium*, (call it luncheon or dinner), and another who did not think best to take it, to receive Holy Communion before the three o'clock refreshment.

† It seems to me rather presumptuous to question Bishop Kingdon's accuracy. He says that "*that* Lord's Supper" means the Maundy Feast before the Eucharist. But the previous sentence says the LORD instituted *ipsam coenam*, "*the supper itself*," *i. e.* original LORD's Supper *after* food. Before "*that* Lord's Supper," therefore *i. e.* the LORD's Supper on that day. S. Augustine says, we can forbid none to take his *prandium*.

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LORD Himself who gave the Communion to the Apostles *after supper*. (Epi. cxxv.)

In a sermon of his, just as he was banished, we learn that his enemies charged him with *baptizing* after eating. He repels that charge in much the same language. Note now, First, that "*after supper*" twice used in his defence, corresponds to "*after they had eaten*" in the charge; *i. e.*, *after a meal*. Second, if he had baptized or communicated after a meal, it was not in itself wrong. And so, Third, the inevitable inference is that there must have been a Church law that Baptism and the Eucharist should not follow upon a set meal, which S. Chrysostom was bound to keep, and his enemies charged him with violating. Hence his indignant and high sounding disclaimer.

So S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Ambrose are in accord about the relation of "*prandium*," call it luncheon or dinner, and *coena*, supper or dinner, to the Holy Communion; and of the fasting condition of those who had abstained from the set meal, and neither of them says one word to intimate the existence of a rule or a custom, universal or local, *of such entire abstinence before Communion*, as they have been so often and so confidently cited to prove.

IV. As to Canons, there is little worth discussing. First, *Laodicea*: a Council of 32 Bishops in Phrygia, so obscure that we are not sure whether it was held in A. D. 314 or 399. Its cited 49th and 50th Canons say *nothing* on our subject, except to direct no Eucharist to be offered in Lent save on Saturday and Sunday, and that men should fast on Maundy Thursday just as on any other day of Holy Week, "*eating only dry food*." Second, *Nice*, A. D. 325. Its supposed lost Canon is already disposed of. (See p. 36.) Third, *Hippo*, A.D. 393. "That the Sacraments of the Altar be not celebrated save by *fasting* men, one anniversary day being excepted on which the *Lord's Supper* was instituted; for if the commendatory of any dead persons, whether Bishops or others, must be held, let it be done with prayers only, if those who hold it (*pransi indenuntur*) are found to have dined or lunched." The commendatory was a mortuary service with Holy Communion. If the celebrants had *taken their prandium* they must use prayers alone. Of

course if they had *not dined*, they could administer the Holy Communion; consequently they were ecclesiastically considered, among the *fasting* men of the first sentence. A strong and curious confirmation of this view is brought out by Bishop Kingdon, pp. 75 and 76, in his examination of the Canons passed by a French provincial council held at Mâcon in A. D. 585, "In the Canons issued by them, was one about the fast before the Communion, which is as follows: *Item*, we decree that no presbyter stuffed with food, or drunken with wine, presume to handle the sacrifices, or to celebrate Mass on private or festal days, for it is not proper that bodily food be placed before spiritual \* \* \*. And then the Canon of Mâcon quotes the Canon of Hippo, about *fasting* men, and the Maundy Thursday exception." The Bishop's conclusion is irresistible. "It was excess that was aimed at, especially as we see the Canon pointedly adopts Communion after a meal on Maundy Thursday."

There was another very small local French council at Auxerre, one Bishop, 7 Abbots, 34 priests present, which forbids any ecclesiastic even *to be in church if he have broken his fast*.\* Then two even smaller Spanish councils at Braga, A. D. 560 or 563 and 572, (eight Bishops present at one and thirteen at the other), the first of which anathematizes a priest who on Maundy Thursday shall celebrate after nine o'clock in the morning by mass for the dead, and the other threatens deposition to a priest who shall be discovered to have consecrated the oblation "not fasting, any other food whatsoever having been previously taken." And then at Toledo, A.D. 646, a small provincial council was held, (thirty-nine Bishops present or represented), which forbids a priest to offer Mass after having taken the least food and drink, and provides for having always one priest to stand by to take up the service if the celebrant faint. Some of these phrases, "stuffed with food," "drunken with wine," indicate the felt need of rigid rules to keep the clergy in order. The reasons given for the Canon cited (Braga, A. D. 572), is that some priests corrupted

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\* If there is any weight in this, why not in a following canon (26) which forbids a woman to receive the Eucharist *with her hands bare*?

by the Priscillian folly had been bold to consecrate the Oblation after having "taken unmixed wine."

Those were rough, revelling times. S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine tell us how, in their age, Christian people and Christian priests, too, were prone to excess. But in the provinces of Gaul and Spain, in the sixth and seventh centuries, it grew worse and worse. We might discuss the exact meaning of the language, "*fasting*," and "any other food whatever being previously taken;" and might ask what evidence there is that midnight was the reckoning point. It matters not. "Fasting communion" seems to have had its rigorous trial by the priests in Spain. But its provincial canons, made for the priests alone, have no more authority with the clergy in America than a canon of Southern Ohio passed now will have one thousand years hence in some diocese in Central Africa.

Then comes the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 692. It decreed anew the Canon of Hippo 300 years before, only disapproving of the exception on Maundy Thursday. It gives no more precise definition of what is meant by *fasting* men, but provides that the fast on Thursday in Holy Week shall be the same as on other days in that week. Not one word against Holy Communion on that day, but against any relaxation of the ordinary Holy Week abstinence. This is the council which makes some pretension to being called œcumenical. Let those who think it enjoins, in canon 29, a strict natural fast from midnight, and plead its authority, heed canon 3 also, which orders a priest or deacon to be deposed who marries a second wife, unless he repent and put her away; and suspends those who have married widows, or who marry at all after ordination; and also canon 55, which forbids fasting on Saturday and Sunday, even in Lent, and canon 90, which forbids kneeling in church on Sunday.

And next the English canon. Says "The Christian Year Kalendar," 1883, p. 78: "It is the law of the Church of England;" and (p. 80): "The Church of England has *never* repealed the law which binds the priests and people \* \* \* never to communicate otherwise than fasting. And what is meant by fasting in this case is total abstinence from

every kind of food and drink, even in the very smallest quantities, from the preceding night." We suppose one of the Anglo-Saxon canons, about A.D. 994, is *the law* meant; for we know of no other. A dead letter for centuries; for, if still in force, no one who feels its force must taste food till he has heard High Mass and sermon at midday.\*

So a rigorist's canon in Spain for keeping priests in order in the seventh century, and in England at the end of the tenth century a sort of a canon which, if in force, enforces too much, are all that can be urged on the ground of the law of the Church for one thousand years after Christ.

The Council of Constance, A. D. 1414, sometimes quoted, gave *no rule* on the subject. It made a law denying the cup to the laity, and defends its decree in this way: CHRIST instituted the Sacrament *after supper*. The Church, in canons and customs, has held that this should not be done *after supper*, but administered to men fasting. And so, for good reasons, the Church may say: CHRIST ordered the Sacrament received in both kinds. The custom of administering the bread only, having "prevailed a very long time," we order that henceforth it be so administered. This is all this council says about "fasting communion," using the same terms, "after supper" and "fasting," defining nothing and ordering nothing on this subject, using it only by way of argument, to decree the denial of the cup to the laity.

But granted that the Canon of Hippo had lasting and universal force, and that the quotations from S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom and others prove—as they most certainly

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\* We take the liberty of quoting this canon from Bp. Kingdon's work, p. 59, *note*. It is not accessible in other form. It suggests that it may become a necessity to re-enforce or re-enact it, in case the same ideas of "Fasting Communion" should again universally prevail. "It is a very bad custom that many men practice, both on Sundays and also other Mass days: that is, that straightways, at early morn, they desire to hear Mass, and immediately after the Mass, from early morn the whole day over, in drunkenness and feasting, they minister to their belly and not to God. But we command that no man taste any meat before the service for the High Mass be completed, but that all, both females and males, assemble at the High Mass and at the holy and spiritual Church, and there hear the High Mass and the preaching of God's Word." *Anglo-Saxon Witness*, by Rev. J. Baron, M. A., 1869, p. 80.



do not—the existence of a custom universal and apostolic, there is a link yet to be supplied, before *fasting from midnight without a particle of food or drink* can be fastened on the conscience of one who would follow in the footsteps of the early Church.

V. *The meaning of fasting.* Who were the *fasting men* by whom the Eucharist was received?

By the help of indexes, we have endeavored to ascertain what it meant in the Ante-Nicene Church. We believe that we have overlooked no passage that may throw light upon the question. In the Clementine Recognitions, Book VII., cc. xxxv.-xxxvii., it is clear that a rigid fast of a whole day before baptism was insisted on by some. But nothing of the kind in reference to Holy Communion. Among the "Selections from Prophetic Scriptures," is this definition: "Fasting, according to the signification of the word, is abstinence from food;" but how long, how severe, is not added. In the Apostolic Constitutions (the third century, perhaps), Book V., c. xviii., Christians are told during the days of the Passion—our Holy Week—to use only bread, salt and herbs, and water, abstaining from wine and flesh till the ninth hour; but on the preparation day and the Sabbath (our Easter Even) they are directed to fast entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; both days if they can, but the Sabbath at least. And it is curious, in immediate connection, in c. xix., they are bidden even to cock-crowing "to keep awake, to assemble in church, to watch, pray and entreat God," etc., etc. The Shepherd Hermes, reckoned one of the Apostolic Fathers, says, Book III., Simil. 5, c. iii., the angel told him: "In the day of your fast you take nothing but bread and water." There are about twelve other places in the whole range of Ante-Nicene Christian literature, where fasting is spoken of. Tertullian has a treatise on it, and goes through all sorts of fasts, jejunia, xerophagies, and stations; but not a word in Tertullian, or anybody else in his day, of a rigid fast for any set time as a preparation for the Eucharist.

Let us go a little farther. Some time in the 4th century the following canon (50) was passed at Laodicea. "It is not lawful to break the fast on Thursday, the last week in Lent,

and dishonor the whole Lent, but men must fast *on dry diet* through the whole Lent." About 450, the historian Socrates, on "Discrepant Customs," tells how diverse are the practices of Christians; and among other things, in fasting; about the number of days in Lent; about the exemption of some days, and then about their different usages in the matter of abstinence:

Some, says he (Bohn's Ecc. Lib., lib. v., c. 22), wholly abstain from things that have life; others feed on fish only of all living creatures; many, together with fish, eat fowl also, saying that, according to Moses, these were likewise made out of the waters. Some abstain from eggs and all kinds of fruits; others feed on dry bread only, and others eat not even this; while others, having fasted till the ninth hour, afterwards feed on any sort of food without distinction. \* \* \* Since, however, no one can produce a written command as an authority, it is evident that the Apostles left each one to his own free will in the matter, to the end that the performance of what is good might not be the result of constraint and necessity.\* Nor is there less variation in the services performed in their religious assemblies than in their fastings. For, although almost all Churches throughout the world celebrate the sacred mysteries on the Sabbath of every week (Saturday), yet the Christians of Alexandria and at Rome, on account of some ancient tradition, refuse to do this. The Egyptians in the neighborhood of Alexandria and the inhabitants of Thebais hold their religious meetings on the Sabbath, but do not partake of the mysteries *in the manner usual among Christians in general*; for after having eaten and satisfied themselves with food of all kinds, in the evening, making their oblation, they partake of the mysteries.

Here the inference is plain enough: that, according to Socrates, the manner usual among Christians in general was not *in the evening or after meals*, but in the morning, *before a full meal*. Could the historian fail to remark on a practice like this as more than *unusual* if it had been so utterly opposed to a universal custom to which, twenty-five and fifty years before, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom and the Canon of Hippo had appealed, as a rule of authority, perchance of Apostolic authority, that a rigid fast from midnight should precede?†

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\* A suggestion this to those who make or would make Fasting Communion the *result of constraint and necessity*.

† S. Basil, S. Ambrose, and S. Chrysostom, to whom reference has been made, all regard Lent, and especially Holy Week, as a fast preparatory to the Easter feast. The Scotch Presbyterians of a past century used to regard Friday before their semi-annual communion as a preparatory fast. All who had faithfully kept these preparatory fasts would be properly regarded as the *fasting men* of their communion.

Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 375, Orat. XL., says, "Our LORD celebrated the mystery in an upper room and *after supper*; we in houses of prayer and *before supper*;" why not *before breakfast*, if such was the general fact? He is on the subject of the departure of the Church in some particulars from the exact institution. The departure in this case would have been the more marked if he could have said "in the very early morning and *before breakfast*." He *would* have said so if such had been the universal fact.\*

Now S. Ambrose, as we have seen (p. 41),\* teaches that he keeps fast who abstains from *prandium*. He does not say from *jentaculum*, breakfast. And S. Augustine (see p. 10),\* considers men who are *non-cœnati* (have not supped) and *non-pransi* (have not dined or lunched), to be the *fasting men*, the *jejuni* by whom the Eucharist may be received; and that (see p. 41) he did not dare forbid one on Maundy Thursday to take *prandium* before communicating. And the Canon of Hippo itself, the first formulated rule about fasting communion, in its very wording shows it to

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\* A friend whose learning and facilities greatly surpass ours has kindly furnished at length quotations, which lack of space forbids to insert. We state the substance concisely, and give the references.

Three attempts to poison Simon he miraculously escaped, the poison being taken *after* the Eucharist. But once taken *before* it, he was sick forty days. *Dr. J. M. Neale's Hist. Alex., Vol. ii, p. 90.*

*Eusebius of Alexandria*, a titular Bishop of uncertain date, fifth or sixth century, says that a man who partakes of the Eucharist *after* food takes Judas portion. He knows many who do it, and he curses them. He says also that one who goes out of church before dismissed imitates Judas, etc., etc. *Galandii, Bibl. Vet. Patr. Venet.* 1772; *Tome*, viii, p. 254; also *Pusey's Doctrine of the Real Presence*, etc., p. 452.

*S. Bernard* (12th century) tells of Holy Fathers who, out of love for their guests, would eat with them, and then, *after* such slight refection, celebrate the solemn rites of the mass, never thinking that by such eating in love they broke their fast. S. Bernard does not approve their practice, but thinks they did it blamelessly. *Vitis Mystica*, cap. xlii; *Op. Paris*, 1719; *Tom.*, ii, col. 497.

To these we add a reference to Bishop Kingdon's citation from the Greek monk Johannes Phurnes, A. D. 1100, where he says that before and at the time of the Council of Laodicea (4th century) men used to take their early dinner, *ἄριστον*, and the Eucharist *after* it. This on all days; but the fiftieth canon forbade this on Maunday Thursday, because it dishonored Lent. *Bishop Kingdon's Work*, p. 46.

The words italicized *after* Eucharist, *before* it, *after* food, etc., etc., bear upon the line of thought in the next paragraph.

be a fact that a fasting priest, who alone may celebrate at a commendatory, may be one who has not taken *prandium*. *Jentaculum* is not alluded to.

The Greeks and Latins had two full set meals a day. In the late forenoon or early noon the ἀριστον,\* *prandium*, call it luncheon or dinner; and at 6 o'clock or later δείπνον, *cœna*, the second and often the heartiest meal, call it supper or dinner. It corresponded very nearly to the dinner of our business men in our large cities. But they had also the ἀκράτισμα, *jentaculum*, breakfast, a meal, less full, less regular, but nevertheless a part of their daily life. Classic reading shows it. The word is in the lexicons. It was a necessity then as now. It was a *break-fast*, not a full satisfaction. They who took it hastily as usually now and went to their work would be more hungry, and have more appetite, feel more empty, be more truly *jejuni* than at sunrise. S. Augustine in several places, and others of the fathers of his century and the next, consider a man as fasting who is still without his *prandium*. Those who maintain the rigid view of a fast from midnight have strangely overlooked the relation of this fact to the controversy before us. There is positively *no* evidence of such a fast being usually required, nor that it was a universal custom for one thousand years. The fact that the early Christians in times of persecution met before day and celebrated the Eucharist also, was a circumstance necessarily attendant on the condition of things; they celebrated early because their meetings were, for prudence sake, held early, and they communicated fasting because the time for breakfast was not come.

Thomas Aquinas, A. D. 1270, first formulated the rule of such a "natural fast" of entire abstinence from midnight, as a necessary preparation for taking the Eucharist.† Bishop Kingdon in a few well-chosen words (p. 245), states

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\*ἀριστον at first meant breakfast; but from 300 B. C. *prandium* and ἀκράτισμα became the word for breakfast. See Liddell and Scott.

†In A. D. 636 Isidore of Seville defines fasting as scantiness of food or abstinence from food, and in A. D. 1250, twenty years before S. Thomas formulated his rule, Bartholomew of Brescia, the great canonist of his century, says, "the fast begins when digestion is complete." For these two quotations we are indebted to Bishop Kingdon, pp. 136, 137.

the difference between the natural and the ecclesiastical fast:

The ecclesiastical fast is a preparation of the whole man, body and soul, by way of humiliation, mortification, purification, according to the Fathers; the natural fast (so called technically) is a preparation of the mouth and the stomach, according to the moderns.

This low, materialistic view of the proper condition of the recipient, befits the then recently propounded low, materialistic doctrine as to *what* is received. The dogma, that in the consecrated bread and wine, the literal flesh and blood of the body of JESUS CHRIST which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross and rose again from the dead, and *nothing else*, are actually offered and received, first boldly, and grossly stated by Radbert in the 9th century, slowly extending for two centuries, had at last, in the early part of the 13th century, been put forth by Pope Innocent III as an Article of Faith and named *Transubstantiation*. The more our views partake of this idea, under whatever name designated, *Consubstantiation*, or the real presence of the glorified *Humanity* of our Ascended Lord, the more, probably, will the propriety of a rigid fasting reception be magnified. But we have often wondered much, that they who are so scrupulous as to *Its* reception into the unoccupied stomach should not more insist on that for which S. Chrysostom pleaded, an equal reverence following the act; and in honor of *Its* presence, formulate a rule as to the length of a strict fast *after* communion.

If a celebration every LORD's Day be in any parish established, and it be before breakfast usually, let those come to it who can. There is eminent propriety in it. To those who come worthily it will become more and more precious and profitable. But haste *here* makes sad waste. There are attending the practice, inconveniences to some, injury to others, danger to all. If it cause faintness and headache, it makes calm devotion impossible. If it interfere with home duties, its obligation may be questioned. And especially, if it be attended, as we fear it sometimes is, with neglect of private recollection and meditation, we must challenge its efficacy as a means of grace. A fast spent in uninterrupted sleep till one wakes a half-hour before the

time appointed, that half-hour being fully and hurriedly occupied in necessary toilet, and a rapid and often long walk to the church, is not what should immediately precede. If such are the necessities of this early hour, that we must hurry away from our closet, perhaps not entering it, we may well hear the Church saying to us, in the language of her Lord, "Is this the fast that I have chosen?" Rise earlier. Take a morsel of food if your physical condition needs it. Give time to some preparation, and so receive to your comfort and strength. The bodily fast, be it never so rigid in abstinence from food, should be unto its end one of comprehension, self-denial, and spiritual self-discipline.

And if the custom be a mid-day celebration, some hours after a simple *breakfast*, when the body and mind are usually in their best condition, then most unreasonable is it to neglect the invitation because of any private rule. It is unchurchly to turn Sunday into a fast-day.\* S. Augustine counselled Januarius, in the letter from which our chief quotation has been made: "Let each person do, therefore, in the Church to which he comes, what there he shall have found."

Bishop Kingdon declares himself in favor of an early fasting communion as a voluntary practice. But maintains that such communion, if ever binding, is not now in force and ought not to be made obligatory. He claims J. M. Neale and John Keble, of the present, and John Johnson and Kettlewell of an earlier day, as holding the same judgment: and quotes from Mr. Keble *his* disapprobation of such rigorous rules of fasting communion as some of his admirers seek now to impose, and have succeeded in binding on the conscience of some of our communicants.

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\* "It is forbidden to fast on the Lord's Day." "Sundays never, not even in Lent." *S. Ephiphanius against Heresies*, B. III., c. xxi, 4th century. "If any clergyman fast on the Lord's Day (one only excepted, the Sunday before Easter), let him be deposed. If he be a layman, let him be cast out of the communion of the Church." *Apostol. Can. LXXIV.* (3d century perhaps). "We esteem it a crime to fast on the Lord's Day." *Turtul. De. Cor.*, c. 3; A. D. 200. See *Bingham*, B. XVI., c. viii, § 3.

## THE MAUNDY-THURSDAY CELEBRATION.

The custom of evening communions is not in accordance with the general usage of the Ante-Nicene Church. It should not be encouraged. But on one evening of the year, there is a "laudable reason," S. Augustine calls it, for an exception. One night in the year, "the night in which He was betrayed," in which Jesus took bread and wine and consecrated them to be the symbols and memorials of His broken body and shed blood, is peculiarly appropriate for the Eucharistic memorial in a Church whose ecclesiastical arrangement is based on anniversary commemorations. Many reasons conspire to give to this Holy Supper solemn and tender associations. To do as He did, at an hour nearly the same; *after supper*, if so that we do not "dishonor Lent," is an observance that may well claim its place in our Holy Year. It is *not*, as some have declared, a mistaken commemoration of an institution merely. *It is the exactest anniversary of the Great Sacrifice.* Our first American Bishop is a true representative of the Anglican theology, in teaching that in the Last Supper our Great High Priest offered Himself to God as a Sacrifice, and to us in sacred memorial, to be taken and eaten as the bread of life. The 17th chapter of S. John is His prayer for His Militant Church. His "hour" had come. From that supper-room He went forth as a Lamb to the slaughter. The fire of the LORD descended on the consecrated victim. His "soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." Hours before the consummation on Calvary, the offering had been laid on the Altar of God. Rightly viewed, the Maundy-Thursday celebration, after nightfall, is, we affirm, the exactest representation not simply of the institution of the ordinance, but also of the Sacrifice which it commemorates.

The erroneous notion, which we oppose, of a rigid fast from midnight before reception, has done much to bring this annual commemoration into disrepute. The statement that it was primitive, has been assented to without inquiry into the accuracy of a few quotations thought to prove it. *The fast of the early Church was not of this sort.* But even if it were, and even if its example were binding

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now, the Maundy-Thursday Eucharist is *expressly excepted*. The Canon of Hippo, the first formulated rule, does this. S. Augustine's comment on this exception, says it is based on a *laudable* reason. The Laodicean Canon says not a word against it, but condemns the feast on that day which some made before it, thereby dishonoring Lent; and directs people to fast that day on dry diet. The Council of Braga, A. D. 563, recognizes the lawful hour for the Maundy-Thursday Mass, *i. e.*, after 3 o'clock, in the very sentence which anathematizes the priest who breaks his fast. The Council of Mâcon, A. D. 585, reaffirms Hippo. The Trullan Council (Constantinople, A. D. 692), did *not* abrogate the permission given at Hippo, as some erroneously have asserted, and others have reiterated. It simply discouraged the supper that preceded the Eucharist, and determined that men ought not to relax the fast and so dishonor Lent. There is not a word of disparagement of an evening celebration on the day before Good Friday, so far as we have been able to find, for one thousand years. Whether the conclusions arrived at in this essay be well-established or not, the Maundy-Thursday celebration is allowed in the first rule ever put forth. S. Augustine's letter shows that it was in the evening.\* That allowed exception has never been revoked.

SAMUEL BENEDICT.

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\* The Latin is, *ad vesperam*, \* \* \* *in fine diei*. Ep., LIV.



## THE MAKERS OF ITALY.

*The Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi.* By I. THEODORE BENT. New York: 1882.

*Joseph Mazzini. A. Memoir.* By MRS. E. A. VENTURI. London. 1875.

*Life of Count Cavour.* From the French of M. CHARLES DE MAZADE. New York: 1877.

*Victor Emmanuel and the Forming of the Italian Kingdom.* By EDWARD DICEY. New York: 1882.

PAUL V., writing in 1555, compared the Italy of the fifteenth century to a well-tuned instrument of four strings. Naples, Milan, Venice, and the States of the Church were the chords whose harmony mischievous princes were to violate. It was one of her unworthy sons, Ludovico Sforza, who "first spoiled that noble instrument Italy." Florence which, singularly enough, Paul does not include in his enumeration of the chief Italian States, had been under the wise Lorenzo, the mediator between Milan and Naples, and the preserver of the balance of power in Italy, an equilibrium soon disturbed after the death of the Medici prince. From the memorable expedition of Charles VIII, at the invitation of the Sforza, Italy dates all her subsequent calamities. The last of the old Guelfic Papacy, Julius II., died with the patriotic aspiration on his lips, which was to become henceforth, in one form or other, Italy's watchword: *Fuori d'Italia, gli Francesi e gli barbari!* Under Charles V. Italy owned a Ghibelline ascendancy unfelt since the days of the Swabian dynasty. Only Venice, of all the Italian States, remained free, and independent of foreign control. And, as it has been observed, from her alone could have germinated the plant of Italian unity, had such a growth been possible at this period. But the sixteenth century, from which Italy dates her three hundred years of foreign domination, was her most brilliant period in art and letters. Here was the culmination of the Renaissance, the

full fruitage of a precious seed-time, her centuries of freedom. And Rome succeeded Florence as the art-centre of Italy, giving to this age the name of one of her popes, the fortunate son of the great Lorenzo.

With the opening years of the eighteenth century, the war of the Spanish Succession convulsed Europe, and Italy again became a battle ground for French and Barbarians. It was at this time that the gentle poet Filicaja gave expression to the sorrowing patriotism of his countrymen in his celebrated sonnet, embalmed by Byron, with its burden of regrets, in *Childe Harold*:

—“O were thy bravery more or less thy charms!  
Then should thy foes, they whom thy loveliness  
Now lures afar to conquer and possess,  
Adore thy beauty less or dread thine arms!”

The final results of the Peace of Utrecht as regarded Italy were to give the Two Sicilies and Parma their Bourbon dynasties; to confer the fallen splendors of Florence, which the extinction of the Medici had left sovereignless, on a Lorraine prince, a member of the imperial house; and to bestow a kingly crown upon the wearer of a ducal coronet, Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, in the fortunes of whose house Italy had an interest she could then little have foreseen. “Wearing the keys of the Alps at his girdle,” the Duke of Savoy had always held a position of considerable geographical importance in Italy, while politically scarcely ranking with her principal sovereigns. His subjects were backward in the arts of civilization, his capital was a rude provincial town, while Rome, Venice, Florence, Naples were the polished centres of a cultivated race, yet here lay the germ of Italy’s coveted nationality, and under the Sabaud cross her patriots were to realize the dream of poets and sages from Dante to Alfieri.

The principality of Savoy, a striking exception to the other States of Italy, has been always in possession of the same dynasty. First as Counts, then as Dukes, the Sabaud family, which dates from the tenth century, were a distinguished and war-like race, commanding consideration by their qualities of prudence and valor. The kingdom of

Sardinia therefore, though ruled despotically by its soldier-kings, was still in certain respects more fortunately situated than the rest of Italy. There was generally a good understanding between the people and their native princes, and the *justice de Savoie* had become proverbial. Yet the customs of the old *régime* and its repressive spirit pressed heavily upon enthusiastic and liberal minds like that of Alfieri, Italy's great eighteenth century poet, who left his native Piedmont to dedicate from Paris his *Brutus* to America's patriotic chieftain. With doubt, and wonder, and admiration, Italy bowed before the mirage of liberty offered her through the French Republic to find in Napoleon's imperialism a cruel disappointment. Yet in the repeated changes and reshaping of states which for nearly a quarter of a century succeeded one another in the Italian peninsula, there entered a regenerating element born of French liberalism which left beneficial results not fully perceived at the time. To Alfieri has been ascribed the first awakening of the idea of nationality among his countrymen through the remarkable sonnet in which Italy's redemption is foretold, if for the Gaul the Austrian be substituted:

"The day will come, the day return, in which  
Regenerate Italy, at length aroused,  
Shall speed unto the battle-field in arms;  
Not now for tame defense with foreign steel,  
But hurled against the Gauls.

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Methinks mine ear already hears this strain,  
Thou Bard, who fall'n upon degenerate days,  
Could'st yet create this age sublime,—thyself  
Its prophet."

The Restoration which delivered Italy from the French brought the Austrian back in renewed force. Though Italy's several dispossessed sovereigns recovered their thrones, her republics of Venice and Genoa were to lose their autonomy, and a small new state, the Duchy of Modena was formed for an Austrian archduke, an heir by the female line of the Italian house of Este. Genoa *la Superba* was assigned to the kingdom of Sardinia, a fate she had, however, little reason to regret; Lombardy reverted to her old tyrants, and Venice, the Serene Republic, with her illustrious record and

her long cherished liberties, was given also as a portion to the barbarian:

"Thirteen hundred years  
Of wealth and glory turn'd to dust and tears."

The clock of history was not to be turned back so easily to the pre-revolutionary epoch, as the potentates of Europe supposed nevertheless:

*Viva Francia! Viva Spagna!*  
*Basta che se magna.*

which had been of old the reckless rhyme of the Milanese, was soon to be exchanged for a more self-respecting doctrine. Byron noted with noble sympathy, these recent wrongs of the Italian people and "amidst all the disadvantages of repeated revolutions, the desolation of battles, and the despair of ages, their still unquenched 'longings after immortality'—the immortality of independence." Italy's poets cherished in men's hearts the love of liberty. Ugo Foscolo, self-exiled to England, pointed to his country's *sepulchres* as all that remained of her cherished greatness. Silvio Pellico lived out the saddest of his tragedies in the desolate prisons to which the stern Austrian tyrant had condemned his unoffending youth; and released from Spielberg gave to the world an idyl of captivity in *Le Mie Prigione*, that most touching record of political martyrdom. The sad poet of Recanati, Leopardi, in his *All'Italia*, with all the kindling power of lyric genius, painted in burning words Italy's desolation:

"Where is thy vaunted strength? Thy high resolve?  
Who from thy belt hath torn the warrior sword?  
How hast thou fallen from thy pride of place  
To this abyss of misery!"

Italy, like her own volcanoes, was full of smouldering forces, and three times in the new age eruptions were to burst forth before the final liberation of her pent up fires. The movement for a constitutional government which spread from Spain in 1821 to Naples at one end of Italy, and Piedmont at the other, was watched anxiously by two English poets who were then on her soil, and who have woven her glories into their deathless verse. Shelley in his

noble "Ode to Naples" hailed enthusiastically her new-born freedom. Byron enrolled himself among the Carbonari, and gave generously of his means to its support, his name and influence doing much for the cause. It was central Italy which rose in revolt in 1831, and the ready Austrian bayonets, as before, were at hand to restore the base Modena prince and Parma's Duchess, while they insured protection to the retrograde Papal government. There was one man among the revolutionists of 1831, himself a foreigner, though of Italian lineage, who was never to forget his sufferings in the cause of Italian liberty, and who was yet, at the head of imperial legions, to bring about Italy's redemption. But in the meanwhile the nephew of Napoleon was to make himself odious to no inconsiderable section of Italy's patriots by his conduct in 1848 while chief of the revolutionary French government. In the great Italian uprising of this momentous year we meet again with Rome's magic name, and with the brief but glorious resuscitation of her ancient republic Mazzini is inseparably associated.

Of the four heroic figures, all of them belonging to Sardinia, whose names rise spontaneously to the lips at the mention of emancipated Italy, one is found among her kings, one is representative of her nobility, the third is a type of her professional classes, and the fourth is found among her artisans or peasantry. It were too much to say of these men what Byron said of Angelo, Alfieri, Galileo and Machiavelli:

"These are four minds which, like the elements,  
Might furnish forth creation,"

yet did they most truly, as "spirits which soar from ruin," furnish forth new Italy. It is the third of these representative men, Giuseppe Mazzini, who may be considered as the pioneer in the work of Italian independence. The three principles of the *Giovine Italia*, of which he was the founder, were republicanism, unity, independence. To rid Italy of the barbarian, to make a nation out of the six States into which she was divided, and to see this united Italy a republic, with Rome as its head, were the patriotic dreams of Mazzini.

But in regard to the last-mentioned point, the form of government, this was to be decided by the national will, when the other objects were attained. And independence was to be won by organized insurrection. For there seemed no hope of it through the reigning powers themselves. Charles Albert, the sometime *Carbonaro* prince of Carignan, as heir of Sardinia, had ranged himself with the reactionary party, and when on his accession in 1821 Mazzini wrote him a letter calling on him to take the lead in regenerating Italy, his response was the declaration of the writer's banishment. And now began for this enthusiast his long years of exile and of untiring exalted labor in the mission he had ordained for himself. He soon gained notoriety and became the terror of kings and princes. Persecution followed him in his banishment, but with that marvellous good fortune which never forsook him, while Europe for many years was agitated by his conspiracies, and to seize him would have been to secure the gifts and gratitude of those in power, Mazzini walked over the earth wearing the invisible cap of the prince in the fairy tale, with none to molest, none to betray him. True to an austere sense of duty he lived his solitary, dedicated life in steadfastness of purpose to the end. He never married, having espoused Italy, as was said of Cavour. And truly had he taken his bride for better, for worse; for worse in all the seventeen years that intervened before his hour of transitory triumph. At length the fateful year came when chaos was over the face of Europe, when all Italy was shaken to its centre, when France drove out her citizen king; Berlin was in revolt, and even the Vienna of Metternich, the symbol of absolutism and stability, had risen in defiance of the old order of things. Then it was that Mazzini exultingly waving his republican banner

“Said, when all time's sea was foam,  
'Let there be Rome,'—and there was Rome.”

Mazzini describes the intense emotion he experienced, “the deep sense of awe, almost of worship,” when beholding for the first time the Eternal City:

Rome, the dream of my young years; the generating idea of my mental conception; the keystone of my intellectual edifice; the religion of my soul.

From one who was near him during all this crucial period, one who had become in a psychic sense a citizen of Rome and felt as her own its triumphs and its woes, we learn how Mazzini was worshipped by his republican followers. Margaret Fuller speaks of him as having:

Stood alone in Italy on a sunny height, far above the stature of other men.. He has fought a great fight against folly, compromise and treason, steadfast in his convictions, and of almost miraculous energy to sustain them is he.

He seemed to her as the greatest of Italians, the only great man among them. He looked to Margaret Fuller's enthusiastic vision, "more divine than ever, after all his new, strange sufferings. . . . But the crisis is tremendous and all will come on him; since, if anyone can save Italy from her foes inward and outward, it will be he." Of Mazzini's personal appearance at this period we have a description from Masson, for many years his personal friend. His was the true Italian type of manly beauty: a "slight figure, dark and closely-fitting dress, with the marvellous face of pale olive, in shape a long oval, the features fine and bold rather than massive, the forehead full and high under thin dark hair; his whole expression impassioned, sad, and the eyes large, black and preternaturally burning." Such was Italy's paladin, and to this romantic exterior he added the charm of gentle and persuasive manners. A rapid and eloquent speaker, a deep, if somewhat mystical, thinker on philosophical and religious subjects, Mazzini was preëminently of Italy's liberators, the man of letters and of a varied and speculative culture. As one of Rome's triumvirs, he labored nobly and resolutely in the government of the city. And when the treachery of the French Republic was made manifest, and the inevitable fall that awaited this sister State, Mazzini unfalteringly urged its valorous defense. He remained a week in Rome after the French entered, and wearing his invisible cap, wandered broken-hearted amid the ruins of his lost hopes, revolving "wild and ruinous plans." But all was indeed over for Mazzini and for Italy, and the Mazzinian theory of insurrection had proved its inadequacy to solve the problem of the people's needs.

But it was not insurrection alone that had failed in 1848.

Italy's armies had gone out to battle, and found themselves baffled by the pitiless strength of the foe. Yet for some years previously this struggle with Austria had been looked forward to as inevitable. The Neo-Guelfic party believed that a propitious pope would lead Italy out of captivity, while others relied on a Neo-Ghibelline agency in the one national prince left them, Charles Albert, the "Sword of Italy." And it was the Sardinian King, once a liberal, and so lately a despotic ruler like his neighbors, who now sought to secure the independence of the peninsula. He earned the gratitude of his own subjects by bestowing upon them the long-coveted *statuto*. And after his vain but not inglorious war with Austria he sealed his devotion to his country by his abdication on the field of Novara, where he had vainly sought a soldier's death. A broken hearted exile, he went forth to die at Oporto, leaving his image to be enshrined with that of his happier son among Italy's patriots. At Genoa he was buried:

"There a king may fitly lie;  
 Who bursting that heroic heart of his  
 At lost Novara that he could not die,  
 Though thrice into the cannon's eyes for this  
 He plunged his shuddering steed, and felt the sky  
 Reel back between the fire-shocks;—stripped away  
 The ancestral ermine ere the smoke had cleared,  
 And naked to the soul, that none might say  
 His kingship covered what was base and bled  
 With treason, went out straight, an exile, yea,  
 An exiled patriot! Let him be revered."

Victor Emmanuel II. was twenty-eight at the time of Italy's first war of independence, and he eagerly welcomed the opportunity to appear in arms, distinguishing himself by his valor in the early successes of the Piedmontese army and having the good fortune, as he esteemed it, to receive a wound. At Novara, the Savoy princes, Charles Albert and his two sons were among the bravest of the brave. And while the unfortunate king seemed to see the setting of Italy's star with his own on that red and fatal field, Victor Emmanuel, with all the ardor of youth and hope, declared as he turned from the hated Austrian, *Ma l'Italia sara!* Made a king in this hour of Piedmont's humilia-



tion, by his father's abdication, Victor's native energy and shrewd good sense were early called into play. The terms of peace were so unpopular that it required all the young king's personal influence to secure their acceptance by the government. And at the same time he had to withstand the flatteries of the Austrian commander who sought to win him over from the liberal cause: "My house knows the road of exile, but not of dishonor," was his reply to these overtures. The first ten years of Victor Emmanuel's reign were years of preparation for the fulfillment of his resolve, the redemption of Italy. First, his own Piedmont was to be educated in constitutional liberty, to be fashioned into an instrument, a lever by which to raise her sister provinces; to become the "England of Italy," the model State, which should draw all men unto her. And the sovereign of Piedmont soon won for himself the title by which he is so well known, that of the *Re galantuomo*, the "Honest King." He carried out conscientiously his early determination, to be in deed as in name, a constitutional king. Four years after his accession, Victor Emmanuel appointed as his Prime-Minister the great man whose brilliant career is so closely associated with that of his sovereign and friend. If Victor Emmanuel may be likened to *Henri Quatre*, as one of his biographers asserts, Cavour was his Sully, his faithful mentor in private as well as his counsellor in public affairs. And the honest King had his faults, more harmful, indeed, to the man than to the Sovereign. Among his virtues, magnanimity, so much needed in one who played such a difficult role in history, was most conspicuous. Simple in his tastes and dress, abstemious at table, loving the chase and the pleasures of country life, he would often escape from the cares of the constitutional King and the Italian liberator to his Royal villas or the Savoy hills. He was known to the mountaineers, for whom he had always a kind word and friendly smile as *Barbe Vittorio*, or "Uncle Victor." In appearance, Victor Emmanuel was of middle stature, with broad shoulders, and a pleasant if not handsome face, with its open brow, fearless glance and good humored expression, while the full, curling brown beard and mustache added to its soldierly aspect. Like so

many of his race he was eminently a soldier king, prizing highly military glory. And his abilities as a leader of men, both on the battle-field and in the cabinet, were by no means slight; while by his skill in reading character, an important part of a sovereign's wisdom, he knew always in whom to repose confidence. This ability was shown in the choice of his great minister, Count Cavour.

Though from his earliest youth Cavour had cherished the hope of accomplishing something for his country's redemption, he disbelieved in revolutionary methods, and sought a slower and more legitimate procedure. He described himself as "desiring and hoping for social progress with all my might, but resolved not to accomplish it at the cost of a universal overthrow." Yet no Mazzini or Garibaldi could go beyond him in devotion to the national cause. "Generous hearts . . . will sympathise with our efforts to recall to life a nation for centuries buried in a frightful tomb," he writes to a friend. And again: "Take this confession as the avowal that my whole life is consecrated to one object, that of the emancipation of my country." The bent of his mind was to scientific pursuits and to politics, and he declared, in later years, that it was easier for him to make Italy than to make a sonnet. In 1852 he entered upon his public career, under Victor Emmanuel, to become from this time forward the great power behind the throne, to which Italy in a great measure was to owe her wonderful future. He soon fulfilled the King's prophecy that he would take from the ministers all their portfolios. And it needed a giant's arm, a giant's courage, after Novara, the nadir of Piedmont's fortunes, to raise her again to her zenith. Cavour was this giant:

" He bore up his Piedmont ten years  
Till she suddenly smiled and was Italy."

The important treaty with France and England in 1854, was due to Cavour's far-sighted wisdom. And it was said to have been a woman's happy inspiration in the first instance, that of Cavour's niece, the accomplished Countess Alfieri, in whose intellectual *salon* the busy statesman frequently sought relaxation from the weight of affairs.

It was a bold thought, boldly carried out against opposition and ridicule, for Piedmont was poor and obscure, and the quarrel with Russia was apparently one in which she had no concern. But Cavour rightly saw here an opportunity for Piedmont and for Italy, not to be overlooked. It was the entering wedge by which to secure her a place in European conferences; and it preluded the falling asunder of the treaties of 1815, the bar to Italy's independence. While England gave to Piedmont a moral support, most valuable in its way, Napoleon, who was France, gave her the indispensable material assistance by which to cope successfully with Austria. And it was Cavour's matchless diplomacy that brought this about. His eloquent arguments and indomitable will persuaded the judgment and fixed the wavering resolution of the Emperor, and determined him in his brooding purpose to become the knight-errant of Italy. And all through the subsequent momentous events in his country's history, Cavour, at the helm, guided the State amidst shoals and breakers to the shore of his hopes.

When the swift and troubled years brought Italy to her second, her true war of independence, in which she was no longer alone nor doomed to despair, her martial and patriot prince was in his element. "I have no other ambition," declared Victor Emmanuel, "than to be the first soldier of Italian independence." When remonstrated with at one time against exposing himself unnecessarily, he replied characteristically:

I am going to send some thousands of men to death, and how could I ask them to die for Italy if I was not prepared to show them by my own example that the cause was one worth dying for?

The King's valor on one occasion so aroused the enthusiasm of the French zouaves that they elected him their corporal, an incident similar to one related of the first Napoleon. The great battles of the campaign were fought and won by the allies, while Garibaldi achieved his Alpine successes with the volunteers, when after Solferino, the French Emperor made his sudden peace at Villafranca, in which Italy saw herself deserted, as it were, at the crisis of

her fortunes. But happily the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by France as early as 1830, disregarded in 1831 and 1848, was now respected, and by this means Central Italy was enabled to follow Lombardy which the peace had secured to Sardinia, and thus a second important advance was made in the forming of the new kingdom. But the gratitude of the nation to Napoleon III. was mixed with some alloy when the cession of Savoy and Nice was made public. The King had already given his daughter in marriage to Prince Napoleon, part of the price to be paid for the imperial alliance; and now he must resign his beloved Savoy, the cradle of his race, the resting place of his ancestors.

“ O first when the battle storm gathers,  
O loyal of hearts on the throne,  
Let those keep the ‘ graves of their fathers,’  
Who quail in the nerve, from their own!

“ For *thee*; through the dim Hades-portal,  
The dream of a voice,—‘ Blessed thou  
Who hast made all thy race thrice immortal,  
No need of the sepulchres now.’ ”

So sang the English poetess, who from her Florence windows looked out in generous sympathy on the work of Italy's liberation. And the Savoy Prince could find a precedent for this act, if one were needed, in the annals of the House of Hapsburg, which had at need given up its birth-place also.

But Nice, the fair Mediterranean city; there was one of her sons who could not patiently endure this loss, who looked back lovingly to his childhood's home, through all the vicissitudes of his romantic life:

“ The little house my father knew,  
The olives and the palms of Nice.”

Yet there was work for him to do, he who had been made an alien in his own land, if kings and emperors were at peace, as Mazzini suggested, a swift deed of redemption, the emancipation of the two Sicilies. This was the crowning act of Garibaldi's career, and it was the third step in the unification of Italy.

Giuseppe Garibaldi was one of the early proscribed ones

of the *Giovine Italia*, and, forced to leave his native land, he entered upon the adventurous South American period of his life which was to bring him his first military laurels. And here he met his Amazonian mate, Anita, the intrepid passionate creature whose wonderful feats of daring and endurance match those of her husband. The affair of the Salto San Antonio served to transmit Garibaldi's fame to European shores, to the beloved and suffering country on which his eyes were ever turned. Back to Italy with the rest of her exiles came Garibaldi in 1848; to serve her valiantly in the guerilla warfare in which he was such an adept; and finally to conduct the splendid defense of Rome against the veterans of France. It was in the toilsome and hazardous retreat, after the fall of the Roman Republic, that poor Anita, worn with fever and fatigue, died in her husband's arms and was left by the anguish-stricken fugitive to be buried by friendly peasants, in the classic shades of the *Pineta*, where a simple chapel rose in later years to mark the spot.

The call to arms in 1859, met with a glad response from the hermit-soldier of Caprera, who was placed by Victor Emmanuel in command of the *cacciatori delle Alpi*, composed of volunteers from all parts of Italy. Garibaldi's share in the War of Independence, though in the by-ways of battle as it were, was a most brilliant one, and strengthened his hold upon the nation as pre-eminently the popular hero. And doubtless Victor Emmanuel whose fame was somewhat overshadowed by that of his imperial ally, was sincere in wishing himself a companion of the dashing guerilla chief. In the following year Garibaldi undertook his own special service as Italian liberator, and with the historic *Thousand of Marsala*, part of his former command, the Hunters of the Alps, embarked upon his memorable expedition into Sicily.

But the Dictator of the Two Sicilies, who had conquered a kingdom within four months, to place it as a jewel in the crown of his sovereign, was never greater than in the moment when he resigned his power, refusing all gifts and honors, to return once more the poor and simple soldier to his island home. Garibaldi was at this time in the full

prime of vigorous manhood. In height he was not above the average, and his well-developed frame witnessed to the active life he had led. His hair and beard of reddish-gold, his eyes blue, in the whole cast of his fine, calm, blond face he recalled the Teutonic rather than the Latin race type. In character he had all the *bonhommie*, the trustfulness, the warmth of feeling which easily wins hearts, and his errors were those incident to a too-confiding temper and impressionable fancy. Garibaldi was not without the acquirements of the professional soldier, though drilled only in the world's rough school. He was an excellent mathematician, and planned his military movements with the confidence of scientific knowledge, while he carried them out with the boldness of original genius. He was also well-read, and possessed a knowledge of several languages, while at the same time he was lamentably deficient in literary ability, as his novels demonstrate. If Cavour and Mazzini were the thinkers and schemers of the Italian movement, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel were the men of action, the men to lead armies. The prince and the man of the people were not dissimilar in other respects; they have both been likened to classic types, to the heroes of Plutarch in their unconsciousness, their simplicity in pursuing national ends regardless of personal applause or censure.

In Garibaldi's conquest of the two Sicilies, another and this time a successful trial of the Mazzinian theory of insurrection had been made. Mazzini himself, though with secret and tentative steps, for his republican bias was looked upon as dangerous to the stability of the new institutions, had appeared again in the consolidation of Italian liberty. But this time, not only was there no foreign power intervening to stay the patriot movement; there was in its place a powerful national government silently countenancing and abetting it. Garibaldi's course was closely watched, and in a manner guided by Cavour. For it was expedient that the Liberator should stop at Naples, as a march upon Rome would imperil Italy's relations with France. And this was a case where the susceptibilities of Roman Catholic Europe were to be considered, and not

simply the doubtful rights of a despotic prince. To forestall Garibaldi, therefore, by Cavour's advice, Victor Emmanuel made an aggressive movement, responding to the call of Umbria and the Marches, which were now given the opportunity to unite themselves with the Italian kingdom. The *Papalini* composed in a great measure of Irish and French fanatics, under the French general Lamoriciere, who had justly incensed the Italians by calling themselves crusaders arrayed against "Islamism," were defeated at Castelfidardo, while the *Garibaldini* were occupied on the Volturno. And now there ensued a necessary pause in the growth of the new kingdom. Rome, which had been occupied by French troops ever since the fall of Mazzini's republic, all Italians felt, must eventually crown their organization. "We must go to Rome," declared Cavour, "but on two conditions, that we are acting in concert with France, and that the great body of Catholics in Italy and elsewhere do not see in the reunion of Rome with Italy the source of the subjection of the Church." And to attain this end Cavour put all his diplomacy into requisition. For Venice, Italy must wait not too impatiently the march of events. Meanwhile Cavour's duties had become most arduous, and his herculean powers were taxed to the utmost. To dominate and reconcile opposing interests; to mould into symmetry incongruous elements; to bring from the discords of long-divided and jarring chords the harmony of a perfected nationality, all this rested upon Italy's Prime-Minister.

He declared: "My task is even more laborious and painful than it used to be. To build up Italy, to blend the divers elements of which she is composed and harmonize the North with the South, presents as many difficulties as does a war with Austria and the struggle with Rome." And then Italy, which had grown so quickly and strangely to her larger life, was yet unrecognized. Cavour was busy with her foreign relations, by no means quite smooth ones just then; with her finances; with her navy, besides a daily attendance upon parliament, and could illy bear an added strain upon his nervous system. When Garibaldi's sullen murmurs from Caprera

voiced themselves in vexatious personalities. For the Nice session, which Garibaldi attributed to Cavour, was still unforgiven, and he had later grievances, as he thought, to add to this. Happily the kind-hearted king brought about a reconciliation between the estranged patriots, which must have been a consoling thought to the one who so long survived his great compeer. For in this triumphant hour of Italy's destinies, Cavour was taken from her. At the height of his power and at the consummation of his hopes, it might be said, he died; happy in having been permitted to enter the promised land, if only to cross its borders. Snatched away ere his feet had more than touched the Canaan of his dreams, his loss to Italy, though great, was not irreparable, as it might have been had he fallen in the wilderness.

Cavour seemed born to rule men, but his love of power was not stronger than his love of liberty, and he was strict in his observance of constitutional requirements. With his agreeable and graceful manners; his command of a naturally ardent temper; and his essentially well-balanced mind with its resources of good-tempered humor, he found it easy to retain the influence which his sagacity had won. His extensive knowledge of English and Continental history, his mastery of political and social science, and his astuteness in the application of diplomatic principles to the exigencies of an unparalleled position, entitle him, perhaps, to the highest rank among the statesmen of his age. Like Mazzini, he was an idealist, but having practical talent and a clear-sighted view of feasible ends, he was permitted to realize his ideal. Mazzini mistook the means, and his democratic goal not reached, he could be content with no halting-place on lower ground. While the one used as his instruments principalities and powers, Macchiavellian-wise, looking not too closely to their value, irrespective of the purpose in view; the other scrutinized the imperial tool and disdained it. He would work from below up, all was to be for the people by the people. And crediting the masses with every civic virtue and potency, failure too often awaited him to the detriment of his own reputation.

Cavour lived and died a consistent member of that National Communion which he wished to see sharing in the



reforms that had reached Italy's political institutions. *Libera chiesa in libera stato*, "a free Church in a free State," were among the last words of this Christian statesman and true patriot.

With Rome and Venetia still unattained, the makers of Italy could not be said to have finished their work. Garibaldi, whose motto had always been *Italia farà de sè*, impatient of the slow methods of diplomacy, could no longer be deterred from his rash Roman enterprise which forced Victor Emmanuel to turn Italy's arms against her distinguished son. An unfortunate affair this was certainly, but it seemed the only way out of a national dilemma, and Cavour was no longer at hand with his sure and subtle wisdom to solve political complications. In the meanwhile Victor Emmanuel longed not less ardently than Garibaldi for the possession of Rome, "to complete the glory of Italy." And when a European war again darkened the horizon, another assault upon Italy's hereditary foe, she eagerly embraced the alliance with Prussia, to recover her remaining provinces. Garibaldi was afforded another Lake campaign at the head of his volunteers. A wound, however, received in one of the first engagements, incapacitated the popular chief to some extent, and deprived the volunteers of his personal prowess and example. Italy's regular troops, also, were not as successful as could have been wished in the Austro-Prussian war. The new Southern levies were insufficiently disciplined; Victor had not yet fully accomplished his aim "to Italianize Piedmont and to Piedmontize the army." But Prussia's ally nevertheless received her meed in the restitution of Venetia, now at last free in the new national life of united Italy. It was said of Victor Emmanuel at this time, that he swallowed a province a day, having, in fact, absorbed into his kingdom seven principalities within seven years. The evacuation of Rome took place in 1866 as stipulated; and then followed Garibaldi's second impetuous advance upon the coveted city, which resulted in the disastrous field of Mentana. It was the French on this occasion who stopped his progress, and the cruel *Chassepôt* gun, then just invented, did fearful damage to the ranks of the less completely equipped Italians. Victor Em-

manuel felt very keenly this slaughter of his subjects: "It seems to me," he said, "as if the bullets had pierced my own breast." And the good understanding between France and Italy was much cooled by an affair so vexatious to Italy. And now the French troops were again in Rome, and its recovery indefinitely retarded, as it seemed; when in four years' time the Franco-Prussian war left the way open for the final act of the Italian drama. The Roman Catholic powers looked on in a silence that seemed to give consent, while the Pope fell from his temporal throne—a throne propped up by foreign bayonets as all the world could see. At length it seemed to be perceived that the slavery of the Romans was not essential to the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church, a principle which had been in vogue for so many years. And Victor Emmanuel said:

At last our arduous task is accomplished, and our country is reconstituted. The name of Rome, which is the grandest name uttered by the mouths of men, is joined with the name of Italy, the name which is dearest to my heart.

Thirteen years have rolled away since the final unification of Italy, and one by one her liberators have passed from life's scene, leaving to the new generation the heritage they so nobly won. Mazzini, of whom Swinburne has written, using the same comparison with Columbus, the great Genoese, that D'Azeglio with less felicity had made in reference to Alfieri:

"One found a new world mid the virgin seas,  
And one found Italy."

Mazzini had, after all, not found Italy made to his liking. He had never swerved from his republican principles, and to the last schemed and labored for a republic as he had in earlier years worked for the two other divisions of his political creed. Concerned in an insurrectionary movement in Sicily, he was arrested in his old age and imprisoned once more in an Italian fortress, a fate he had not known since his early *carbonaro* days, but was soon after set at liberty. He now visited Rome after an interval of twenty-one years. But he still considered himself an exile, and sadly enough had persisted in his self-imposed expatriation. The last year of his life, however, the winter of 1871-2, was

spent at Pisa, where he had gone for his health, and where he lived under an assumed name and unknown but to a few chosen friends. So that he breathed his last under the skies of free Italy, to whose regeneration he had loyally devoted his life. Some of the fruits of his democratic apostolate may be found in the eight hundred societies scattered over Italy, who met together a year ago last June to inaugurate a monument to his memory. Victor Emmanuel, the honest King, more fortunate than the republican enthusiast, had seen the accomplishment of every dream. Seven years he lived at the Quirinal in as amicable relations with the ex-prince of the Vatican as the latter's official conscience would permit. Victor could now take leisure for travel, and he visited the capitals of Berlin and Vienna, renewing friendly relations with his Austrian connections. And Francis Joseph came to Italy to return the visit, where at Venice the strange sight of Austrian and Italian colors mingled in friendly union, witnessed to the amity between the emancipated Italian and the once abhorred *straniero*. The first King of Italy, fortunate in death as in life, passed away, after a brief illness, at fifty-eight, before the infirmities of old age had rendered life irksome, and having attained, indeed, all that the world could give to satisfy patriotic or kingly ambition. Italy is scarcely yet out of mourning for the old hero of Caprera, the idol of the people, the spoilt child of that country which has been called the spoilt child of Europe. After fighting so long for Italy in season and out of season, Garibaldi, true to his championship of forlorn hopes, gave his services to the French Republic in 1871, and this was the last of his many campaigns. Garibaldi, as representative of Rome in the Italian Parliament, experienced one of the great satisfactions of his later years—years marked by increasing bodily infirmities, and by a confirmed radicalism, political and religious. At Caprera his last days were spent, his mind full of all its old energy, his fancy speculating upon the chances of a future war with Austria for the recovery of Trent and Trieste, and his closing public acts being directed against the Papal Guarantees. Austria and the Vatican, with their little remnant of power on Italian soil, were still to be combatted by

this votary of freedom. Italy, liberated Italy, has now entered upon a new career of prosperity, material and intellectual. With her eight provinces in one State, she is still not too much centralized for healthy political life. The old cities of her ancient glory retain their place as centres from which radiates the local self-government that finds for national purposes its head in Rome. As a great maritime power Italy's position among the nations of Europe promises to be signally advanced by the facilities of the Suez Canal. And in this respect she thus returns to the position of her republics in the middle ages, before the route by the Cape of Good Hope had destroyed their wealth and greatness. And the Italian language, as a liberal study, is recovering the place it once so proudly held as the vehicle of the best culture of Europe. The literature of modern Italy, philosophical, scientific, and in what we understand as humane letters, vies now with that of the foremost nations of the world, and many of the names distinguished in the later Italian literature are associated, as was to be expected, with Italy's struggle for independence. Manzoni, her foremost novelist, and one of her greatest poets, lived to witness "Italy's coronation," as he termed her first national parliament; D'Azeglio, the gifted artist and man of letters, bled for Italy as well as wrote and legislated in her cause; while Giusti and Carducci are perhaps the representative bards of Italian liberty, the one dying while yet this liberty hung in the balance, the other being to-day Italy's greatest living poet. Having made for herself a chapter in history, to use Lord Palmerston's words, "the most romantic in the annals of the world," Italy has given an earnest of her bright future; a future assured to her in its general outlines, whether her government remain the constitutional monarchy of the *Re Galantuomo* and Cavour, or become, as Cavour himself seemed to predict, the ideal republic of Garibaldi and Mazzini.

K. M. ROWLAND.

## BENJAMIN HALE.\*

WHOEVER will take the trouble to look over the files of the Catalogues or "Registers" of Geneva (now Hobart) College, will find therein names which are now met with in all the various professions and ranks of life in our country. Among these some have become distinguished, and have honorably borne offices of responsibility and trust in the State. Some adorn the Episcopate; some the less conspicuous but honorable and useful positions as professors in institutions of learning; some labor for the welfare of the Church and the salvation of their fellow men as parish priests; some have been successful as men of business, and have become the leaders of large industrial enterprises. Of these a large number were undergraduates during the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Hale. Among them there has not been one who passed through college with any degree of credit to himself who did not feel the impress of the mind and character of the President, and who does not owe to that same moulding influence much of his success and usefulness in life.

The same to a great extent, no doubt, may be said of the influence of any worthy president of any college. But the College in Geneva was never a large institution; there was never a large corps of professors and tutors, and hence each student was brought in nearer relation to and more direct intercourse with its head. The pages of his memoir will, therefore, have for them more of a personal interest than if he had been the distinguished but distant president of the institution in which they pursued their studies.

To please his children, he began, near the close of his days, to write his autobiography, which he had carried down to his thirty-fourth year. But the twilight of age

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\* *Sermons of the Rev. Benjamin Hale, D. D.*, President of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., 1836-1858. With Memoir, by the Rev. MALCOLM DOUGLASS, D. D., Claremont, N. H. Claremont Manufacturing Co., 1883.

with its premonitions of the grave came upon him, and he was compelled to leave the work unfinished. Dr. Douglass, the writer of the Memoir, supplements this manuscript with facts obtained from relatives and friends of his early life, and with abundant information with regard to all his subsequent career.

Of the stock of which Dr. Hale came, his biographer says: "Both sides of the house were of a vigorous, industrious and useful race, held in honor by their fellow citizens, and distinguished for their domestic virtues, their sterling goodness, and their faithfulness in the discharge of trusts and duties." His childhood was in a quiet, happy and pious New England home, where were the stern virtues of the Puritans, but with the harsh edges rounded off, and the gait and general bearing made graceful and genial by the gentle and tolerant spirit which pervaded the atmosphere of the house. His father was of domestic tastes, and took a particular interest in the education of his children. His mother was a true Christian matron, seeking faithfully to impress upon the members of her household a sense of their duty to God, but never failing to make home so pleasant and attractive that the children had no desire to pass their out of school hours elsewhere.

In reading the autobiographical sketch one is naturally curious to know how, after the lapse of half a century, one whose theological convictions had undergone that change implied in the transition from a conscientious and consistent Congregationalist to a conscientious and consistent Churchman would speak of the religious sentiments prevailing in the community where his early manhood was spent.

In 1815, while at Dartmouth College, there was a revival. It was not characterized by the extravagances by which those meetings were often so strongly marked. On one occasion a sermon by President Edwards had been read. Dr. Hale says:

The impression produced by it was strong. I had been, as I have said, religiously educated. I believed most fully in the great truths of Revelation, and was prepared to feel the weight of such a discourse, and to sympathize

with the deeply serious impression which reigned around me. There were about fifty who at that time were thought to be converted. I was among them, and I suppose I may say that at that time I commenced a professed and more systematic religious life. I made a regular duty of reading the Scriptures and prayer; and as I look back upon my feelings and purposes from this distance of time, I judge favorably of the sincerity with which I engaged in religious duties. Whatever fluctuations there may have been in my feelings since, I have never from that time ceased to recognize my religious duty, and with more or less earnestness to make it my daily business. My mind was in no inconsiderable degree of tumult. The current theory of regeneration taught us to look for some great and wonderful change, and my conscious shortcoming rendered me perpetually anxious \* \* \* \* The subjects of the revival were, I presume, generally as I was, young persons who had been religiously trained, and who needed not teaching, nor being convinced of the general duties of religion, but to be brought to a decision to lead a religious life. They were aided in making it by common sympathy. They believed that the Spirit of God was moving among them, and although I do not hold to the view which was then common to myself and the rest, far be it from me to attribute to any lower source the good that might be wrought in any of us at that time. I think the Spirit is always ready.

This theory of regeneration and the great and wonderful change which was supposed to accompany it, was the cause of much anxiety and deep distress in the minds of those who, naturally distrustful of self, endeavored to come up to their full duty, conscientiously. Dr. Hale thus speaks of his first Communion:

This was a serious time with me. The receiving of the Holy Communion was invested with awful sacredness by the strict Puritans. To receive it unworthily was to eat and drink damnation, and by "unworthily" they understood in an "unconverted state." It was deemed indispensable that every one should try and examine himself therefore before he received it; and the examination was to ascertain whether he were really regenerate. I well remember the almost stunning anxiety which I felt on such occasions. No one can avoid respecting the seriousness with which this duty and privilege was regarded, though connected with an unpractical method of self-examination. It often engendered undue and sometimes fatal anxiety, and sometimes operated upon sensitive minds to exclude them entirely from becoming partakers of this sacrament. A female member of a family in our neighborhood committed suicide under the apprehension that in "joining the Church" she had acted hypocritically and committed a great sin. And my own father, though religiously disposed, and, I believe, earnestly desirous to do his duty, never dared to "make a profession," and thus become a communicant.

As an earnest and consistent servant of the Lord, such as young Hale prayerfully endeavored to be, he must needs take part in the religious movements around him. His first

experience in "leading in prayer" at a prayer meeting was not a happy one. He staggered and reeled through the words. His language was incoherent and without meaning, and he got through, as he says, in more danger of apoplexy than of being puffed up. In this connection we give his earliest experience as a Congregational minister:

I recollect as if it were but yesterday, many of my feelings on that occasion. The services in Congregational meeting-houses consisted of a short opening prayer, a hymn, the long prayer, another hymn, then the sermon, a short prayer and the benediction. Sometimes a chapter or part of a chapter was read before the long prayer, and in the afternoon a hymn followed the sermon. My temperament was nervous, my articulation was rapid, and my method of saying what I had to say, direct. The long prayer, according to the usual custom, should be about fifteen minutes in length. A fresh hand, not accustomed to the circumlocution and the practice of "enlarging," which aided in filling up the allotted time where new topics and new matter did not crowd upon the mind; and timid withal in adventuring to appear as the extempore organ in presenting the devotions of the congregation before God; I felt embarrassed in the long prayer. I felt that I was in danger of stinting it. I feared that in making short work of it I might offend the seriousness of some of my good friends in the congregation. I labored for topics and for periphrastic expressions that I might reach the proper length of the exercise; and then I felt that such regard to what hearers might think was out of place; that I was working out an exercise and not praying; and I finished the prayer and sat down humbled and ashamed. I have often thought of it, and have wanted no other proof than my own experience on this and other occasions, that, simple as this method of worship is in *appearance* it is not favorable to simplicity of heart before God.

Not less interesting is it to follow the subject of this narrative through the successive steps which led him finally to the Church. While at Dartmouth in 1815, he says he remembers hearing the Church of England spoken of as one which had a great many bishops and not more than one converted man among them, and supposed that it might possibly have been so. He had also read in the Massachusetts "Missionary Magazine" stories of the persecution of the Puritans by the ministers of the Church, and was moved, by accounts of the sufferings of his ancestors. Still, he had no decided prejudices, and having for a few times attended S. Paul's Church, Newburyport, he recognized the beauty and impressiveness of the services and was not disposed to scoff at the Church's ministers. In Andover Theological Seminary, where he began his theological studies, ecclesiastical history formed but small part of the regular



course; but young Hale devoted to that branch such leisure as he had for reading. Though the book he read, Milner's, gave him no very profound ideas of the subject, yet he was satisfied that the Church planted by CHRIST and his Apostles was not like the organization in which he had been reared. He accepted Episcopacy as a *fact*, but entertained the idea which prevailed in New England, that Church government was only an outward matter, not binding upon the conscience, nor a thing of any moment. Still, it became to him a subject of interest, and during the progress of his theological studies, he read such books touching upon the question as came to his hand. The conclusion at which he arrived is thus stated:

It (Episcopacy) was admitted to have been introduced very early, for that could not be denied; and the theories of Campbell and others of its opposers to account for this fact seemed to me so clearly invented to serve a purpose, and so completely unsustained by fact, that they confirmed me in my conclusion by showing the utter weakness of the other side. I was not, however, a Churchman, nor had I begun to understand the Church as God's organization for the salvation of the world; the pillar and ground of the truth, the embodiment of the Gospel; that in it was union with the living Head; in it were the promises; that from its nature it could be but one, and must endure through all time or God's promise would fail and His purpose be defeated.

While in charge of the Lyceum, a school in Gardiner, Maine, he began to attend regularly the services of the Church. The churchmanship in that parish, however, was quite loose. Without any reference to confirmation, he was admitted to the Communion. He preached occasionally, sometimes read service, officiating, as the rector of the parish was accustomed to do, in gown and bands. While at the head of this institution he was beset by invitations to preach, which he could not conveniently meet. He therefore returned to the Moderator of the Congregational Association his "license to preach." He was further moved to do this on account of the preference for the Church which he now entertained, and which was so strong that he had resolved, if ever he preached again, to take Orders. Here is a passage from his experience at this time:

During the winter, January or February, 1823, I took a severe cold, which affected my eyes, and was attended with extreme sensitiveness to the light. I

was obliged to have my room as dark as it could be made. One Sunday morning, while in this condition, I sat listening to the Church bell as it tolled for service, and as it stopped I commenced the service, repeating to myself one of the sentences—then the exhortation—then the confession, etc., till I had gone through a considerable part of the service; enjoying it as if I had been a worshipper in the congregation, and feeling that I was mingling my confessions and prayers and praises with those which were ascending from the worshippers in church. I saw and felt deeply the advantage of such a form of service, and was confirmed in my attachment to the Church and the Church's ways, so far as I knew them.

While filling the chair of professor of chemistry at Dartmouth College he found himself in a position to renew preaching. He accordingly obtained ordination at the hands of Bishop Griswold at Woodstock, Vt., on the 28th of September, 1828. He preached occasionally during the next eighteen months, after which he commenced an evening service at his own residence. We give his own account:

At first no one was present beside my own family, with part of Dr. Oliver's and Horace Brooks, then my pupil in mathematics, now of the U. S. A. It soon began to be spoken of, and individuals asked permission to attend, and in the course of a few months my room was well filled. I continued these services with few interruptions during my stay at Hanover—and very pleasant they were. My little congregation of five and twenty or thirty, consisting for the most part of those who had never seen before the liturgical service, became deeply engaged. All knelt at the devotions, all responded, and it was truly a common prayer, a united offering to one common Father. The feelings of many were touched and their hearts opened. In my sermons I never touched upon points of controversy. I scarcely preached one which I might not have preached without offense in the Congregational meeting-house. In fact my own views were, upon the doctrines of the Church, only beginning to form.

All this while he was, with his family, a regular attendant, forenoon and afternoon, at the Congregational meeting-house, where he had a pew. In the evening he held his own service. But the growing attractiveness of the services at the professor's house, and the unavoidable consequences, an awakening interest in the minds of the students and others, created an uneasiness among the Congregational clergy, who claimed exclusive possession of the ground. But it was not so easy a matter to silence this disturber of their peace. He was not obtrusive, did not seek to make proselytes, was not violating the College Charter, neither was he doing anything in conflict with his profes-

social duties. But the knot that could not be untied could be cut. Accordingly, at their annual meeting in 1835, without a warning to him or conference with the faculty, the Trustees abolished the professorship of chemistry in the medical department, and transferred its duties to a professor in the college. This act, so discreditable to the college, was done under the plea of greater economy! Of course this matter was not suffered either by the professor or his many warm friends to pass by unnoticed. It created great excitement, and was the occasion of several pamphlets and newspaper articles, in which the Trustees appeared to disadvantage.

In 1835, Mr. Hale published that valuable and well-known little manual, "*Scriptural Illustrations of the Liturgy.*" In the same year he represented the diocese of New Hampshire in General Convention, and received the degree of D. D. from Columbia College. In the year following he became President of Geneva College.

It was a most critical and trying period in the history of that institution. The mismanagement and "sharp practice" of years had crippled it. For ten years its graduates had averaged but four a year. Its annual income from endowments was but \$1,500. About as much was received from other sources. With such small beginning Dr. Hale entered upon his work. Two years afterwards the State made the College a grant of \$6,000 per annum. This was continued until 1846, when it was suddenly and most unexpectedly withdrawn. The college had made its arrangements for the current year without any thought of such a calamity. There was no alternative; Dr. Hale was obliged, in behalf of the institution he served, and of the professors who were dependent upon their promised salaries, to go to Albany to induce legislators to redeem pledges made upon the implied promise of the State. And there the scholar, the divine, the high-toned gentleman, was compelled to become a member of the lobby, soliciting the favor of legislators, among whom were demagogues, and ignorant politicians, who regarded colleges as but aristocratic institutions. During this time, for Dr. Hale to have drawn his own salary would have been to nearly exhaust the resources of the college and

leave the professors without an income. He accordingly accepted a reduced salary, but did not even draw that until the dark days were over. The funds in the treasury went to pay his colleagues. His own brothers nobly came to his help. But college professors could not be expected to remain at their posts on a mere pittance, and the continuance of that doubtful. In 1848, the faculty consisted of Dr. Hale and two tutors, both graduates. Through all these trying times he had a firm friend and judicious counsellor in Bishop De Lancey, to whose exertions it was mainly owing that in time the venerable Corporation of Trinity Church came to the aid of that College which the wisdom of Hobart had planted, and which was henceforth to bear his name.

The long and dismal night, now happily at an end, had been a period of humiliations, suffering, patient endurance, silent and cheerful submission, hope while every surrounding suggested despair, and pinching poverty when by abandoning the enterprise an abundant support from other quarters might have been enjoyed. But the faith of the noble President did not falter nor did his courage. He would not be beaten. A few words in a private letter to his brothers tell the story :

I can hardly express to you, my dear brothers, my obligation for all your kindness. May God reward you. I should not remain in a position in which I am obliged to be so much indebted to you, if I did not feel constrained, by a sense of duty, to save if I can this college, and to make it what it ought to be. I trust we are approaching the shore.

In the recitation room, Dr. Hale was in the strict sense of the word "in his element." He loved to teach. He loved to invite inquiries, to explain difficulties, and to draw illustrations, always to the point, from his exhaustless store. The impressions received in those recitations, particularly in moral and intellectual philosophy, in the evidences, and in Butler's Analogy were calculated to last, and to exert an influence through all the students' after life.

As a disciplinarian, Dr. Hale knew how to be stern and to enforce authority—as some of the students learned by memorable experience. But his administration was mild and his manner pleasant. He was a good reader of char-

acter, and often, with admirable shrewdness outgeneralled the plotters of mischief. He saw that it was not wise always to oppose that which, if properly guided, might be harmless, or even beneficial. This remark was exemplified in an instance not alluded to in the memoirs. Secret societies have been the *bête noir* of many a college faculty. One morning the authorities of Geneva awoke to the fact that there was a secret society among them. What many another faculty has done in similar circumstances everybody knows. What Dr. Hale did in this case was to join the society himself. When in after years the Geneva Chapter of Alpha Delta Phi presented to the college a marble bust of Dr. Hale, he, in the course of a responsive address, stated the rule on which he had been accustomed to act in many cases wherein there was danger of collision—to lead in a safe channel that which might otherwise prove an impetuous and dangerous torrent; to provide a harmless vent for that which is natural and will not be restrained. “Otherwise, if you meet them with a doubled fist, they will meet you with both fists doubled.”

Dr. Norton in his “Reminiscences” mentions an incident illustrative of Dr. Hale’s method. The occasion is not likely to be forgotten by those who took part in the performance. It was the usual Wednesday afternoon declamation in the chapel, and it was the turn of the Sophomore Class. The first speaker declaimed in a tongue not English; the second in another, and so on through the whole class. Not only were heard the familiar Greek, Latin, French and Spanish, studied in the college, but Italian, Scotch and some of the Indian dialects. The whole was crowned by a recitation of “Old Grimes is dead,” in a jargon composed of a mixture of English, Latin and Greek. How should this performance be treated? As an impertinence calling for admonition or something worse? Dr. Hale took the matter in the utmost good humor, and at the close said with a smile, that hereafter the declamations must be confined to the languages studied in the College.

This incident, though a trifle in itself, was not without its good effects. There was at that time a tutor, who, besides being a most thorough scholar and faithful instructor, was

kind and genial, but morbidly conscientious in the matter of discipline; believing it his duty, though it was far from his inclination, to suppress all trifling, even the ebullition of youthful spirits which sometimes become hilarious, and sometimes find vent in pranks, which, though undignified, are harmless. In a conversation between him and one of the students, in which the relations of officer and student were the theme, this very incident was adduced to prove to the tutor that the course of President Hale in treating so good humoredly instead of reprimanding or punishing such a prank, endeared him to the students, and made it a point of honor with them to be considerate in future. The result was a decided improvement in the tutor's method thereafter.

Not only was Dr. Hale faithful and laborious in his duties as President, but as preacher and lecturer he exerted an influence far beyond the College precincts; and though he was not a showy orator, and never rose to the heights of eloquence, yet as a writer he was clear, concise and pointed, wasting no words, and so skilful in the management of his subject, that he never failed to interest and impress his hearers. He was everywhere a favorite. His sermons were never dry or heavy, though always full of thought, as a perusal of the twenty sermons and addresses accompanying the Memoir will fully attest.

Mr. Burrall, in his tribute to Dr. Hale, says that by many he was never thoroughly known, or appreciated at his true value. This was due to his truly unselfish nature and his high aims for the College.

He regarded it as a religious as well as a literary institution, a *correlative of the Church*, having high and holy claims above all personal interests, or even its interests as a seat of merely secular learning; for the well ordering of which were required wise laws and ordinances to insure its usefulness, and for the due administration of which laws they should be well understood. This knowledge he possessed in an eminent degree. His mind was deeply imbued with the theory and practice of literary and religious instruction. It reflects no reproach or dishonor on others to say that *in this respect he stood alone!*

He was not the only wise and noble hearted one who has felt what it is in the darkest hour to lack sympathy, and in the severest labors to feel the need of a helping hand from

those who could not understand him. But all this is past. His heroic endurance and patience, and his lofty aims are appreciated now, and they who to-day feel the impress of his moulding hand, hold him in grateful remembrance.

W. A. MATSON.

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### RECENT LITERATURE.

*Daniel Webster. American Statesmen Series.* BY HENRY CABOT LODGE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This is an eminently successful piece of work. Its study gives a full knowledge of the man. Failure in that respect comes sometimes from defect in the biographer and sometimes from a limpness and inconsistency of character in the person sketched. Webster was so pronounced in his faults and in his excellencies that only ignorance and prejudice, or dishonesty and want of skill, could fail to give a striking and truthful presentment.

We have been surprised that Mr. Lodge has been able to put into so small a compass so satisfactory a review of the public life of so great a man. Perhaps the book by Mr. George T. Curtis will continue to be regarded as the most scholarly, elaborate, and complete statement of his private and public career, but, as an authority, we greatly prefer this. It is not tinged with dogmatism, nor does it give any sign of political bias. The tone is honest, frank, and appreciative, and the writer shows a sense of the greatness of his subject and of the responsibility of his task. As a result of this attitude we have a trustworthy estimate, and from it we get a true impression of the man, and of his relation to the great questions of statesmanship in which he took a prominent part.

He does not conceal Mr. Webster's blemishes of character, such as his habitual neglect of debt obligation, but he does not, to maintain a critical judgment, let foibles mar an otherwise grand personality. Neither does he palliate the great mistake of his life (the 7th of March speech), by which he stultified his past record, alienated his staunchest

friends, and drew upon himself a condemnation that oblivion cannot cover without at the same time covering much of his justly earned glory. He confirms the world's decision as to his deserved fame as an intellectual giant, an able expositor of the Constitution, and an exponent of broad, patriotic and moral statesmanship. He also presents him as an exceptionally great orator on great occasions, always rising to the heights of his theme and never disappointing the most exacting demands of his auditors. He does justice to him in the great debate with Hayne, so far as power and victory are concerned, although we think he somewhat belittles the glory of Mr. Webster by attributing to him a misapprehension, or a misstatement, of the intrinsic nature of the Constitution. Mr. Webster properly regarded it as the exponent and bond of national life rather than a compact between the States. We differ *toto coelo* from Mr. Lodge, and believe that question to have been theoretically settled by the terms of the instrument, and *now* practically settled by the result of the rebellion.

With the above single exception we endorse Mr. Lodge's book as an admirable statement of Mr. Webster's character and work, and heartily commend it to those who cherish his fame.

*The Scriptural Idea of Man:* Six Lectures given before the Theological Students at Princeton, on the L. P. Stone Foundation. By MARK HOPKINS, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These lectures are the production of one who to a sound judgment and long experience adds a thorough appreciation of the needs of the present age. He is not one who lives in the thought of the past. He is fully abreast with the learning and philosophy of to-day, and in these lectures proves himself a wise counsellor to those who are to be the theological teachers of the coming generation.

The theory of Evolution is clearly stated and ably refuted. The consideration of the subject of "Man in the Image of God," and of "the Moral Nature of Man," involves a discussion of some of the positions taken by Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Christlieb, Professor Calderwood, Mansel, and others, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the



works of the best known living writers as well of those who, fifty years ago, were regarded as the great lights in philosophy and theology. He repudiates some of the old errors in regard to the fall of man, and argues at considerable length that, "by the fall, man lost the moral character by which he was in the image of God, but the Scriptures do not give us the impression that he lost that image of God in which he was created." The author is very clear in his treatment of "knowledge, belief, faith and consciousness;" particularly in pointing out the definite office of Faith as that term is used in the Scriptures, and in showing in how different a sense it is employed by many well-known writers. He says:

I admit of no faith 'that lives in the invisible world and brings truths unattainable by Reason and imparts them to her.' If truths are to be brought from the invisible world, it must be by some being, and not by faith, and must be received, if received at all, on the ground of adequate evidence. Faith, belief of any kind, regarded as mere belief—except as based on evidence—what is it but weakness and folly?" Again: "The faith of the Bible always rests on a person as its object or ground, and has in it a voluntary element. It manifests itself in belief, in obedience and in commitment; in believing what a person says because he says it; in doing what he commands because he commands it, and in committing to him without reserve all that he offers himself to us for. Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, That was faith. When commanded to go out from his own country, not knowing whither he went, he obeyed. That was faith. And when Paul committed his soul to Christ, knowing whom he believed, and that he was able to keep it against that day, that was faith. Here we have, constantly, trust in a person and the voluntary element.

The closing chapter, in which he treats of "the Man CHRIST JESUS," is an eloquent setting forth of the mission of Jesus as distinguished from that of any human being or reformer, and as realizing in the highest sense "the Scriptural Idea of Man."

We would cordially commend the work to the candidates for orders and younger clergy, who, if they occasionally find a form of expression or a doctrinal statement not quite in accordance with the instructions they have received from our Gamaliels, will find enough besides which will prove of great service in the conflict with scientific and philosophic infidelity, which every clergyman in this and the coming age should be prepared to meet.

*The Theory of Morals.* By PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute. Translated from the latest French edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Professor Janet's "*Elements of Morals*," first published in 1869, has become widely known, and in some of our best institutions of learning has been read and studied in the original French. His *La Morale* is a later work, or rather is the former rewritten and enlarged, only a few chapters of it having been preserved entire. The first was such a presentation of the clearest and most useful results of moral science as would be accessible to all minds, particularly to those of the young. The present work, "*The Theory of Morals*," enters more thoroughly into the subject, goes back to first principles, and defines with precision the fundamental ideas of morals. But while there is so much gained in matter there is nothing lost in clearness. It is rare to find a work of such depth of research so lucid in its statements. It is no doubt the author's great clearness, and the simplicity of his style, which gives such interest to the work. Open where one will he is sure to have his attention arrested, and is not disposed to lay the book aside. The volume before us is a translation by Miss Mary Chapman, under the supervision of President Noah Porter of Yale College, by an arrangement with and under the authority of the author.

Briefly stated, M. Janet's theory is this: Moral good presupposes a natural good, which is not measured by the pleasure it brings, but according to its intrinsic excellence. The most excellent thing in man is not exterior or corporeal goods, but the excellence of his soul, *i. e.*—of his personality, his reasonable will. This excellence of personality does not consist in itself, but also in its union with others, or fraternity, and also in devotion to the beautiful, the true and the holy. This good is happiness. But happiness is not a mere combination of pleasures—it is the highest joy, the purest pleasure adequate to the highest excellence. There is a true happiness and a false one; the former resulting from the excellence of our nature, and the latter from our satisfied sensibility. One part of our nature desires true good, and the other part desires also the appear-

ance of good. The will which desires the true good commands the will which desires the false good. This command is moral obligation. The anatomy of the will is the legislative principle of morality. Duty consists in striving after that which is naturally good; and an action which is morally good is the one which is performed for the sake of duty. The domains of good and duty are absolutely equivalent. Aristotle was correct in saying that "the virtuous man is he who finds pleasure in performing virtuous acts." Happiness then is not the reward of virtue, it is virtue itself. The future life should not be considered as a recompense, but as a peaceful enjoyment of the only thing which has any value—perfection. Properly speaking it is not a recompense, but a deliverance. Morality leads to religion. Practical faith in the existence of GOD is the postulate of the moral law.

*Things New and Old in Discourses of Christian Truth and Life.* By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. Columbus, O.: A. H. Smythe.

The value of these sermons by the author of "The Christian League," is that they are the untrammelled and characteristic parish teaching of one who exhibits more fully the modern spirit and method of the pulpit than almost any man of his time. They have the spoken rather than the literary style, and Dr. Gladden would be the last man to call them an addition to literature; but as popular discourses in which the modern method is exclusively used they deserve careful study, and will help to teach young men how to preach effectively. Nobody could sleep under the preaching of such sermons.

*The Oriental Christ* By P. C. MOZOONDAR. Boston: George H. Ellis.

This book is written by the distinguished Hindoo preacher who spent the autumn months in this country, and whose position as one of the leaders of the Brahmo Somaj, in India, entitles it to consideration. It takes up CHRIST in His different attitudes as bathing, fasting, praying, teaching, weeping, rebuking, pilgriming, trusting, healing, feasting, parting, dying, and reigning, without going farther than to accept His Spirit—not character as

man, but accepting it in the spirit of the Oriental as distinguished from that of the Western mind. The value of the book is entirely in the experience of the writer of it, who has here taught men. Now the intelligent Oriental people regard the CHRIST of the nations. The preface is a deeply interesting narrative of personal experience. It makes the utmost of what He is as man, and lingers tenderly upon the confines of His Divine life. Mr. Mozoondar significantly says: "My aspiration has been not to speculate on CHRIST, but to be what JESUS tells us all to be." The several chapters are "the meditations of a heart which, without any human stimulus or guidance, long ago recognized its personal relationship to the soul and sympathy of CHRIST." There is a certain truth about the CHRIST which is nowhere taught so well as in this book.

*Indian Idylls.* From the Sanskrit of the Mahâbhârata. By EDWIN ARNOLD, C. S. I. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The poetical translations in this volume are taken from an Epic seven-fold greater in bulk than the Iliad and Odyssey taken together. The subjects are so widely removed from the Western mind that it is not easy to follow Mr. Arnold's renderings or tell how far he keeps to the sentiment and order of the original text in his unrhymed verse. At best the *Indian Idylls* must be classed among the curiosities of literature, and yet they show that the Oriental heart is not essentially different from the Occidental.

*Memoir of Charles Lowe.* By his Wife, MARTHA PERRY LOWE. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.

The claims of Charles Lowe upon public attention in the shape of an extended biography are both personal and denominational. He was a delightful man in his friendly relations, winning, loveable, living for others and sharing in the best life of his time. He was born in 1828, and died in 1874. Educated at Exeter Academy and Harvard College, he was graduated from the Harvard Divinity School to enter the Unitarian ministry, where he served both in private and public life until his death. He was the most popular man in his denomination, as its secretary in Boston, from 1865, for the most part of the time till his death, was the skilful and effective manager of Unitarian

interests. This gives its chief value to this carefully written volume. It upholds the social and spiritual life of the Unitarian body at its centre, and represents its interests and its development on the side that is nearest to an adequate belief in the truths of the Christian religion. Mr. Lowe kept men together when hostile elements entered into the denominational life, and bound hearts to himself when the demand for free religion and a creedless organization threatened to break the ranks of the Unitarian fold. One derives from the book a vivid idea of the condition of Boston Unitarianism during the last twenty-five years.

*Emerson's Works: Poems, Lectures and Biographical Sketches. Miscellanies*, by RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These three volumes conclude the new and complete edition of Emerson's writings, and contain a large amount of new matter. All is new, indeed, except the poems which belong to the earlier editions. The new poems occupy about seventy pages and are of a scrappy character, often mere fragments, and yet including some bright and valuable pieces like "Walden," and the considerable poem, entitled, "The Poet." Emerson's fame does not rest on his poetry. He did not consider himself a poet, and in the prime elements of poetry he was certainly deficient, but in another sense he was a great imaginative author, and all his writings are full of poetic insight and power. He had the vision and faculty divine but wanted the accomplishment of verse. His fame, therefore, rests upon his prose, and this fame is enriched, it can hardly be said to be increased, by the two volumes which are now added to previous editions of his writings. They do not differ in substance or literary quality from the essays upon which his reputation was won. The *Lectures and Biographical Sketches* contain his notable essays on "Character," "Education," "Perpetual Forces," "The Superlative," "The Preacher," and "The Sovereignty of Ethics." The volume also includes some of his finest purely literary work, such as the biography of Dr. Ezra Ripley and the "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England." The final volume of *Miscellanies* brings together his memorable utterances on all sorts of oc-

casions, and gives a better idea of the political and social opinions of the Concord author than is to be found elsewhere. In one of his speeches before the Free Religious Association occurs the following characteristic passage:

It is the praise of our New Testament that its teachings go to the honor and benefit of humanity—that no better lesson has been taught or incarnated. Let it stand, beautiful and wholesome, with whatever is most like it in the teaching and practice of men; but do not attempt to elevate it out of humanity by saying, 'This was not a man,' for then you confound it with the fables of every popular religion, and my distrust of the story makes me distrust the doctrine as soon as it differs from my own belief.

Emerson enters easily into the category of American authors, and this edition of his writings is a fitting tribute to their value.

*The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.* By GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.

This is a notable, and on the whole a successful and most useful work. While some portions of the argument might have been more strongly and prominently put, if the work had been written by a Churchman, yet there is *nothing* in it antagonistic to the Church's true position. The author writes in the tone and feeling, and with the whole cast of thought, of a Churchman. What is also of great value to the book is, that the author shows entire familiarity with the varied squadrons of the motley army which has attacked Christianity in modern times, and his easy mode of dealing with each in its turn shows, that, in this book, he has not been cramming to get up a subject for the making of a respectable volume, but is only drawing off in book form the ripened and settled convictions of many years of study. Moreover, the style is clear, simple and *very readable*, and we trust that the volume will be extensively read.

*The Hymns of Martin Luther, Set to their Original Melodies, with an English Version.* Edited by LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON, assisted by NATHAN H. ALLEN. Published in Commemoration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of Luther's Birthday, November 10, 1483. New York. By Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.

makes the author unconsciously unfair to the facts of the Christian religion. The antagonism to Christianity, however, ought not to prevent these essays from being taken at their full value. They indicate the way in which a fresh and strong mind grasps some of the greatest problems in science and religion, and are very suggestive productions. The tribute to the memory of the late Charles Darwin is the most graceful portion of the book. Mr. Fiske is a strong and forcible rather than an imaginative writer. Facts and figures in the material and social forces of the world are the subjects most congenial to his active and logical mind.

*Tennyson's In Memoriam: Its Purpose and Structure.*  
By JOHN F. GENUNG. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Careful and delicate criticism like that to be traced in this volume is oftener found with English than with American writers. Mr. Genung has studied *In Memoriam* as related to its age, to the growth of the poet's mind, and to the purpose of the poem itself, but much the largest portion of the essay is devoted to an analysis of its structure. He rises to the conception of the poem as an organic whole. He surpasses Frederick Robertson and Dr. Alfred Gatty, the previous commentators, in that they have only given surface explanations of its meaning, while Mr. Genung has aimed to understand the mood in which it was written, and shows why it is the chief religious poem of the century. This study is both comprehensive and minute. He enters through imaginative sympathy into the hidden meaning of the poet, and has interpreted the poem in a way that adds something to the enjoyment of those who are already familiar with it. *In Memoriam*, at this distance of time, needs the comment here added in explanation of its purpose and character, and Mr. Genung can rightly claim that he has made his book the inseparable companion of those who claim to be special students of the poem. His analysis is clear; his comment is intelligent and sympathetic; his critical judgments are always fair; and his spiritual intuitions enable him to correctly interpret Mr. Tennyson's purpose. His essay contains almost the best work of its kind that has been done by any American writer.

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#### *From the Churchman.*

A book like this—and nothing better of the kind, as we are aware, can be found—ought to be in the hands of every clergyman and every parish officer. A vast amount of friction might be saved in the working of our Church machinery if men only knew how it ought to run. Misunderstandings and difficulties between rectors and the people frequently arise from ignorance of their mutual and respective rights and duties. Mr. Baum gives the laws of the Church, the opinions of learned writers, and likewise the decisions of the courts, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the more important cases which have arisen. The author, from the very nature of the case, labored under many and peculiar difficulties, but he has succeeded remarkably well. His book will serve both as a guide and as an educator, for it gives not only rules, but also principles. We hope that it will find its way to every parish, and that Churchmen will study it.

#### *From the Standard.*

To make use of a hackneyed expression, but in this case perfectly appropriate, this is an *exhaustive* treatise on the subject to which it refers. We have examined it very carefully, and have not found any mistakes and incorrect statements, any opinions that do not seem to be well sustained by authorities that demand respect. Cases that have occurred in which important questions have been settled are given from the reports, and all important questions about which there may be two opinions, and that have been judiciously determined, are to be found here. It would appear to any one that carefully looks into the matter, and gives the book anything deserving the name of careful examination, that the author, if a priest now, was a lawyer once, or must have had a legal training or a very decided bias for legal criticism. We believe that Mr. Baum had been admitted to the bar and practised law before he took Holy Orders. That accounts for the interest manifested in the undertaking of the subject, and for the ability with which it has been carried out. A full table of contents and a copious index add to the value, and materially increase the facility for using this work.

#### *From the Living Church.*

Mr. Baum's book contains a vast amount of information on a large variety of topics. The author's study of the subject has been extensive and his arrangement of his material is lucid and convenient. He has drawn largely on Dr. Hawks and Judge Hoffman for the opinions expressed, showing, we think, a general preference for the latter, which we do not altogether approve. He also gives large quotations from reports and judgments in cases heretofore decided in the history of the Church, such as would not be accessible to the ordinary student. Taken as a whole, it is a work of real and permanent value, and compresses into a very small space a really large and valuable amount of elementary information.

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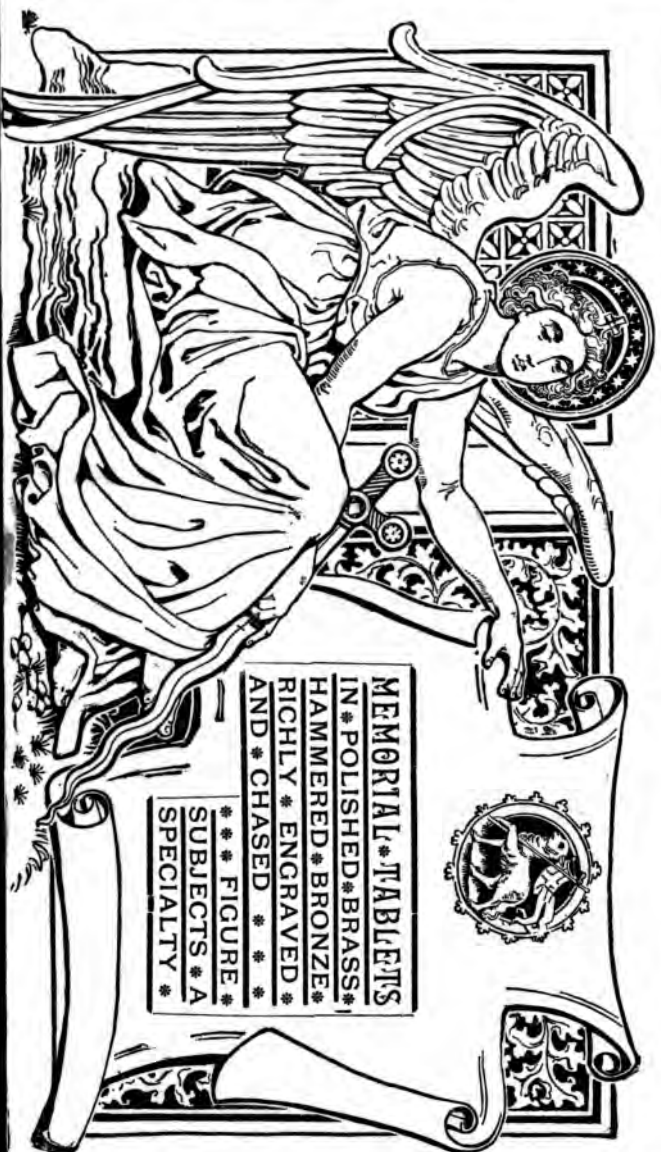
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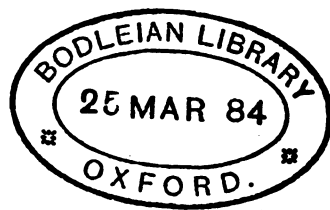
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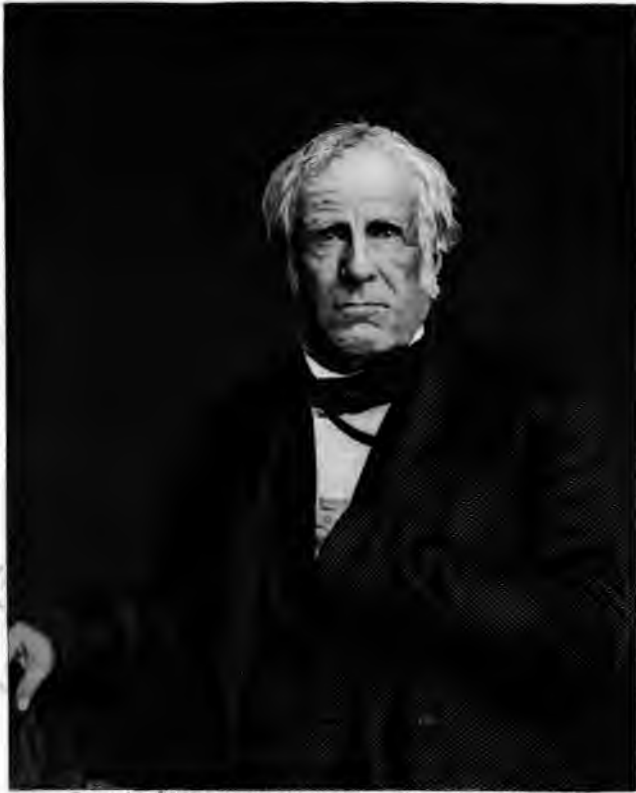
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# AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

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HUGH DAVEY EVANS, LL. D.

**H**UGH DAVEY EVANS, "the first layman of his land," as Bishop Pinkney once ventured to call him,\* was born in the town of Baltimore, on the 26th of April, 1792. He died in the same city on the 16th of July, 1868. His life was thus almost contemporaneous with the existence of our Church in this country as an independent body, and few men—none in fact besides Seabury, White and Dr. Wm. Smith—are more closely identified with its growth and history.

Bishop Pinkney, by his rather extravagant phrase, obviously did not mean that Dr. Evans was the most distinguished American of his time not in Holy Orders. He meant that no lay Churchman had ever been held in higher esteem as a member of our councils, as a theological writer and editor, and as an unflinching supporter of Church principles on every occasion throughout his long life. This

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\* In a sermon preached in S. Paul's, Baltimore, at the Institution of the Rev. J. S. B. Hodges, D.D., as Rector.



high eulogium was expressed in more measured, but not less emphatic, language by his life-long friend, Bishop Whittingham, who thus spoke of the death of Dr. Evans to the Convention of Maryland in 1869:

And of our laity, too, the senior member of this body, who had been returned to it for almost an ordinary life time with few and short interruptions, and had again and again represented us in the General Convention—HUGH DAVEY EVANS, of S. Paul's parish in this city—fell asleep in JESUS, after only a few hours' serious illness, in last July. This Convention needs no testimony from me to the inestimable value of his Christian character and influence. His name, known and honored in our Mother Church almost as in our own, will go down to posterity in association with those of Nelson and Watson, Wilberforce and Alexander Knox, as an illustrious example of those teaching laymen who from time to time shine forth in adornment of the doctrine of CHRIST, by vindication in their own persons of the rights and obligations of the universal priesthood in His Apostolic Body, the visible Church on earth.

The life of such a layman well deserves to be brought before Churchmen, though it really demands for adequate treatment something better than a short sketch like the present. The materials for the purpose consist of the numerous writings of Hugh Davey Evans, the journals of the Maryland and the General Conventions, and especially his own interesting autobiographic *Recollections*, a manuscript copy of which, made by the author himself, is in the possession of the present writer, together with other valuable relics handed over to him by Dr. Evans's executor. These *Recollections* will be freely used in these pages.

The account of his birth and descent had best be given in his own simple style:

I was born, says he, in the city, then town, of Baltimore, on the 26th day of April, 1792. My father, whom I never knew, was a merchant in a small way, and unfortunate in business. His name was Joseph Evans; he was a native of Wilmington, Delaware, of Welsh extraction through his father, and English through his mother. His paternal great-grandfather came over with William Penn, and settled, under grants from him, in what is now Cecil County, Maryland, where his descendants were long respectable. The family in the male line, is, I believe, except for me, extinct.

My grandfather, George Evans, was a deacon among the Baptists. His wife, my grandmother, was a Quakeress. Her name was Rachel Gilpin. She could trace her descent from a brother of *Bernard Gilpin*, the "Apostle of the North," and one of her lineal ancestors was an officer under Cromwell at Worcester.

My mother was a native of Philadelphia, and was descended from all the nations which inhabit Great Britain, except, perhaps, the Scotch Highlanders. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Wilcox Davey. Her father, after whom I was called, was a native of Londonderry in Ireland.

Mrs. Evans was a Churchwoman, but in consequence of Mr. Joseph Evans's connection with the Baptists, their son Hugh was not baptized till he was about three years old. The Sacrament was administered by the Rev. Joseph G. J. Bend, the rector of S. Paul's parish, Baltimore. In the same church he was confirmed by Bishop Claggett, when he was just seventeen years old. The original certificate, on a faded yellow piece of paper, quite worn away in some places, is now lying before the writer. It is dated 29th of May, 1809, and bears the clearly written signature "THO. JNO. CLAGGETT, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland." *Test*, Jos. G. J. Bend. Dr. Evans did not become a communicant until about ten years later.

Everybody knows that it is possible to go to school and college and university without getting educated after all, while on the other hand, some men manage to attain great intellectual development without any of these advantages. How these results are accomplished—how the bricks get made, apparently without straw—is always an interesting matter. Let us hear Hugh Davey Evans's own account of his early bringing up; the quotation, though long, is too interesting and characteristic to abridge:

My earliest instructions of all sorts, I received from my mother, who was a woman of a strong, but uncultivated mind. I could read so early that I cannot remember when books were not my chief pleasure. Before I was eight years old I read books written for men, and had acquired a stock of general information very unusual at my age. The first man's book which I read was an anonymous translation of Livy, to which I was attracted by having met, in a school book, with the story of the Horatii and Curatii.

This gave me a taste for history which has never left me, and has had much to do with the formation of my intellectual character. In what is called school-learning, I had studied English grammar very well for my age and had learned a very little geography, but had gone no further.

The religious instruction which I had received was sound but defective, and was, as I have said, somewhat tintured by Puritanism, though it did not include the self-confidence and insubordination, which are among the worst portions of that system. The instruction was sound though defective. It was very much the same with the affirmative teaching of our Low Church breth-

ren, but included no negations, though many things were omitted. But after all the Church Catechism was its basis.

My moral education was a great deal better; the virtues of truth, fidelity, and integrity were impressed upon me by constant precept and example. Submission to authority I was taught by a kind, but strict discipline. Frugality I learned from necessity. I have now completed my seventieth year, and have never been in other than very narrow circumstances. My mother was poor, and I was made aware of the fact at a very early age. In that and other matters, I was her confidant, while I was still only a child.

At eight years old I went, for the first time, to school. The expense of my education was defrayed by my mother's brother, Alexander W. Davey, so long as he lived, which was until March, 1803. I was first sent to what was really a girls' school, although a very few little boys were admitted. I was sent there that I might be taught to write, a thing which no one has yet been able to do for me. I remained at this school only two months, and I believe learned nothing. This was in the spring of 1800. In the fall of the same year, having spent the intervening time in the country, I was put to school to Mr. Samuel Brown, who kept one of the two best boys' schools in Baltimore. I remained with him until I had received all the school education which it was the will of Providence that I should receive, with the exception of one interval of a few weeks.

In 1805, at the age of thirteen, he was withdrawn from school on account of the state of his health, and was never able to return or to go to college. He never studied Greek (for which he was afterward very sorry) but had read a good deal of Latin, having gone, under Mr. Brown, as far as the Epistles of Horace, and the Orations of Cicero. His instructions had been so thorough that after a disuse of thirty years he found that he could still read Latin, and he did read a great deal of it in his various theological studies. The account he gives of his self-education after leaving school is interesting in itself, and is a fair specimen of his simple, unaffected style:

It is perhaps proper to say something, in this place, of the formation of my intellectual character. My school training, as I have already said, was confined to Latin. In Greek I failed, and in Mathematics beyond a little arithmetic I was never tried. But before I left school, and indeed before I went there, I had become very fond of books, and have always continued so. For science I never had any taste and I read no language but English. But English books, not scientific, I read greedily and rapidly, chiefly history and voyages and travels.

The Baltimore Library was the source from which I drew the books which I devoured. It was a joint-stock institution in which my uncle had left me a share. The Librarian was the Abbé De Persigny, a French emigrant, with whom I believe I was rather a favorite. When I was about twelve years old I asked my mother what History of England I might read. She told me to ask

M. De Persigny, in her name, to recommend one. When I delivered the message he was conversing with Dr. Bend, who was not only our parish clergyman, but an intimate friend of my mother. The Librarian referred to him; he suggested *Hume*. The answer was a French shrug and the remark, "He is your parishioner, not mine." "You may trust him," said Dr. Bend. I did not understand the precise difficulty, but I was not a little proud that I was thought trustworthy.

My reading in works of fiction was in boyhood restrained by authority, and very limited. As I approached manhood the restraints were released and I became a great reader of such things. There are none of long continued reputation in our language which I have not read. The number of those of no value which I have also read, is very great. I was in the strictest sense of the word a desultory reader, for I read without guide or plan, but unlike most other desultory readers I read very attentively, and had the habit of observing closely and gathering up things which were introduced incidentally, without strictly belonging to the main scope of the work. In this way I acquired a tolerably extensive though superficial acquaintance with old-fashioned English literature. American literature could hardly be said to exist in my youth. I also picked up a considerable amount of what may be called general information, and a pretty good knowledge of history. Polemical theology had been a prohibited subject during my years of pupilage, and I never, until it became my duty, read much of it; but of sermons, and what may be called practical theology, I always read much, and thus learned more of theology than is usually known by laymen.

My professional studies were very differently conducted. I read very little and thought much on the subject. As I had not much practice, I had not the opportunity of learning much by the examination of particular questions, which is the way in which lawyers generally acquire most of their professional knowledge. The consequence was that my learning was far less extensive and minute than that of many others. But it was more profound and rested more upon principles. This was another great impediment in the way of my professional success. The best possible argument from principles weighs less with a jury than an authority decided by a respectable court. This is in the main right, although I think that it is carried too far.

My mode of studying law strengthened my reasoning faculty, and my mode of reading on other subjects, my memory, while my imagination, which was naturally the weakest of the three, was left to starve. My memory was much aided by another circumstance connected with my mode of study. I never took notes. This plan was designed in part to produce that very effect; in fact, it was fallen into because I wrote badly and with difficulty—perhaps mere laziness had a good deal to do with it; a further reason was my doing everything in as little time as possible. This habit was connected with, but did not entirely grow out of a sense of the value of time. I took very few notes even in the trial of causes. This I found often inconvenient, as I had nothing to show in case of dispute. I find, too, that in writing I am at a disadvantage for want of reference to authorities; I know the fact or the quotation, but not where to find it. I may mention in this connection a curious fact; it is that, as I grow older, I am more apt to quote, and seem thus to have developed a familiarity with Shakespeare, for instance, which I took no pains to acquire, and did not imagine myself to possess.

Having mentioned my sense of the value of time, I may as well speak of the habit of carelessness in dress, amounting to slovenliness, by which I was distinguished in early life, and of which strong traces still remain. The two things were undoubtedly connected, for I valued time chiefly because it might be employed in reading. The same feeling was one of the causes of the awkwardness which has prevented my learning to do the small duties of life properly; though the peculiarity of my vision—my two eyes having different focuses—and my great nervousness have, no doubt, been coöperating causes. Perhaps both these peculiarities had something to do with the retirement from society in which I have, for the most part, lived.

Intercourse with cultivated society is a great means of mental culture. In this I was sadly deficient. I mingled little in society. This was partly the effect of poverty, partly of the attention which I paid to my mother, who had no other resource; partly of the consciousness of my slovenliness and awkwardness. The society in which I did move was not instructive. Eminent men were not common in Baltimore, and to those who were there I had no access. Not being in society, I had few opportunities of meeting them, and if I had, they would scarcely have taken much notice of an awkward and slovenly boy. On my side they would have to encounter a vast amount of shyness, compounded of pride, modesty, and awkwardness, and a consciousness of ignorance of the manners of society. I have seen familiarly very few men of much culture and ability, and these chiefly when I was so far advanced in life that they were my juniors.

In 1810, Dr. Evans, then in his 18th year, began the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1815. He followed the profession until June, 1856, but never became a successful lawyer, if success is to be measured by pecuniary profits. This was often remarked upon by his professional brethren, who knew his legal learning and his mental ability. He himself accounted for it in part by his "inability to speak well in the early part of his career, by his not being an adroit man of business, and by his not having that general acquaintance in the city, which is so great an assistance in both getting and doing business." He considered himself also to be deficient "in that sort of knowledge of human nature which makes a man skillful in cross-examination." Moreover, his editorial occupations in later years, and the long illness of his mother, to whom he devoted every spare moment, and whom he nursed with the tenderest affection, seriously interfered with his professional prospects. He did, however, publish several law books which were found useful by students, and which added to his reputation. "*Evans's Practice*," though now superseded, is by no means unknown to Maryland lawyers.

I must now speak of him in that character on which Bishop Whittingham laid such stress—the great layman—which is the first thought that his name calls up to Churchmen. In 1819, he tells us, it pleased God to recall him to reflection (though his early life was without spot of immorality or dissipation) by the death of a family connection. He became a communicant, and remained a regular one until his death. “One consequence of this change was that I studied Hooker, and imbibed *from him* [mark that, for no divine is more frequently quoted by Low Churchmen than Hooker]—imbibed from him what are called *High Church* principles, though I was not so decided upon the doctrines of the Holy Communion and the Apostolical Succession as I now am. I learned these doctrines from Bishop Seabury’s sermons, a copy of which I bought at the sale of Bishop Kemp’s books in 1829. I read them immediately, and adopted all the doctrines taught in them which I had not previously held.” No doubt Bishop Whittingham, who came to Maryland in 1840, had a powerful influence upon Hugh Davey Evans, and strengthened him in his Church principles. But the above passage makes it plain that Evans had reached his convictions, on independent grounds, long before he knew the Bishop. He used also to protest, laughingly, against being called a “Puseyite” (though he had the highest admiration for Dr. Pusey), on the ground that he held his Church principles long before Dr. Pusey did, when that divine, in fact, was writing a book (subsequently suppressed) in defense of German theology.

Dr. Evans’s active connection with Church conventions began in the year 1828, when he was chosen delegate from S. Paul’s Parish. In 1827, Bishop Kemp died from an accident, the overthrow of a coach, and the fierce contest which had raged about his election in 1814 was immediately renewed. The interesting history of these events given in the Rev. Mr. Brand’s “Life of Bishop Whittingham,” renders it unnecessary to go into much detail. The Rev. Dr. Wyatt (of S. Paul’s) was expected to be the candidate on the High Church side, and the Rev. Dr. Henshaw, then Rector of S. Peter’s, Baltimore, on the other side. Christ Church, which up to this time had been a sort of chapel of

ease to S. Paul's, now separated and became an independent congregation. "The friends of Dr. Henshaw in the approaching contest for the Episcopate saw that a Low Church Rector of Christ Church would be a great point gained for them. They conveyed to the minds of the prominent men in that congregation the truth that the Rev. Dr. John Johns was such a person. He became the favorite candidate for the rectorship. I was, on both personal and ecclesiastical grounds, in favor of Dr. Wyatt as the new Bishop." When, however, the Convention met, Dr. Henshaw's friends were both surprised and chagrined to find that Dr. Johns, and not Dr. Henshaw, was the choice of the Low Church party for the vacant bishopric. Neither party, however, under the singular two-thirds rule which still prevails in Maryland, could carry an election, and the Diocese suffered for the second time, all the evils of bitter contention, without having any bishop, from Oct. 28, 1827, to June 1st, 1830. On that day the Rev. William Murray Stone, D.D., was chosen. His quiet Episcopate ended in 1837, and the unfortunate Diocese was again plunged into all the excitement of another election—probably one of the most hotly contested in the American Church, and full of unexpected ups and downs, twists and turns. Dr. Evans gives some account of this in his "Recollections," though he did not participate in any manner in the contest. He was placed in a painful position; his feelings and wishes drew him one way, his sense of duty to the Church another. He had made up his mind in the interval between 1830 and 1837, that his friend and Rector, Dr. Wyatt, for whom he had voted in the previous election, would not be the best choice for the Episcopate of Maryland, in the condition of the Diocese. He feared that Dr. Wyatt's election would result in the ultimate triumph of the Low Church party.

I could not, with these views, vote for him. Nor could I vote for Dr. Johns under any circumstances. Besides, I could not vote against Dr. Wyatt, or do anything to prevent his election, while I was the delegate from his parish, in which I was, perhaps, the only man who did not wish for his election. I therefore determined, and announced the determination to my friends in the Vestry, that I would not sit in any convention until a Bishop had been chosen.

The contest was a very different one from the former. Both candidates were repeatedly withdrawn, and no less than three persons were chosen

Bishop who refused to accept. They were Dr. Eastburn, afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts; Bishop Kemper and Dr. Dorr, late Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

It pleased Divine Providence to overrule all these difficulties, and to send us Bishop Whittingham, in 1840. For this result, I believe that we were as much indebted to Dr. Wyatt as to any other man. I am satisfied that during the second contest he did not desire to be Bishop. He withdrew his own name as much as he could, finally refused to allow it to be used, and adhered to the determination. Dr. Johns withdrew his name several times, and made the same declaration that he would not allow it to be used, but he did not adhere to it. The immediate instrument in the election of Dr. Whittingham was, however, Dr. Henshaw. He had opposed him very strongly when he was first named by Dr. Wyatt, but finally became his warm advocate, and secured for him the votes of most of the Low Churchmen.

Hugh Davey Evans, it may be remarked, says he could not vote for the excellent and amiable Dr. Johns, for Bishop, *under any circumstances*. Was he therefore, after all, imbued (as some said he was) with that evil party-spirit against which he himself protested? Not so. He really valued and believed thoroughly in certain fundamental principles. He could not therefore vote for any one who must, if honest, do his best to inculcate the contrary of those principles. A sincere free-trader, for example, cannot vote to put a protectionist into an office where he would necessarily do just the things that the free-trader considers pernicious and unlawful. What is really evil and unpardonable, either in church or secular politics, is to defame an opponent; to try to make him out a bad man because you disagree with him on some disputed question. This sort of thing Hugh Davey Evans, in all his discussions, could never do, either with tongue or with pen. In this respect he was a perfect model to controversialists.

The election of Bishop Whittingham was followed by a temporary lull, but it was soon succeeded, says Dr. Evans, by a still more violent outbreak of the evil spirit. The new strife was begun by a Sermon entitled "The Protestant Episcopal Pastor," by the Rev. Henry Johns, who had succeeded his brother as Rector of Christ Church. The sermon was designed to contradict the teaching of his Bishop in a discourse (a very moderate and timid affair some of our modern Ritualists would deem it), preached at the institution of Dr. Johns, on the "Priesthood in the Church."



In the controversies which now arose in Maryland, and to which the attention of the whole Church was drawn (partly by the interest felt at that time in every utterance of Maryland's remarkable Bishop), Hugh Davey Evans took a very prominent part and always on Bishop Whittingham's side. In the Trapnell case,\* he was Church Advocate, and delivered a long and learned speech, which made it plain that he was entitled to a foremost place, not only as an ecclesiastical lawyer, but also as a theologian.

In 1843, Dr. Evans began to do other work for the Church, which certainly is not the least important of the things for which he is remembered. His own account of it is this:

In 1843, Mr. Joseph Robinson, a bookseller in Baltimore, conceived the idea of a monthly magazine, to be conducted on Church principles and under the patronage of Bishop Whittingham. He applied to the Bishop to name an editor. The Bishop asked me to act in conjunction with the late Judge Alexander Contee Magruder, and Mr. Samuel Johnston Donaldson. I did not feel at liberty to refuse, and therefore said that I would do so, expecting to fill a very subordinate position. This short conversation gave a new direction to the rest of my life.

The other two gentlemen declined, and I undertook the task of conducting *The True Catholic* as senior Editor. The junior was the Rev. John W. Hoffman, who was much younger than I was and had no experience of the press. From the first the burden of the editorship rested upon me. Mr. Hoffman soon formally retired. The work was continued under my sole direction until it reached ten volumes. \* \* \* \* \*

Throughout the work I wrote the first article in each number. I wrote also most of the Notices of Books. Mr. Hoffman wrote about half of those in the first volume, and a very few, not more I think than three or four, were afterwards written by other friends. I also wrote the papers headed *Church Affairs*, and not unfrequently one or more 'Original Papers,' besides the first in the number. The contributions of correspondents became fewer and fewer, until I was left to depend upon myself and selections. There have been very few periodical works which came so near being sustained by a single mind."

The *True Catholic* closed its career in 1856, after an existence of fourteen years. The first series consists of ten volumes 8vo., the second of four. It is almost impossible to speak too highly of the work which was accomplished in its day and generation by this once well known periodical. It was the most important aid that Bishop Whittingham

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\* See Brand's *Life of Bishop Whittingham*, Vol. 1, pp. 327 et seq.

d in spreading the Church principles that he approved, d in stimulating thought among his clergy and laity, and was not long before it had acquired a name and fame yond the borders of Maryland. The publication was a nsiderable venture on the part of Mr. Robinson. It an- lated the magazine literature that has since become so pular and so profitable. There was then no "Harper," "Putnam," no "Atlantic," no "Scribner," no "Lippin- tt,"—to say nothing of a host of smaller magazines. The otestant Episcopal Church had at that time no important nthly or Quarterly. The well-known CHURCH REVIEW, in ich this memoir appears, was not established until 1848, e years later than the *True Catholic*. Many of the essays those volumes, besides their historical interest, are still orth turning over; are still applicable to present-day ques- ns. Hugh Davey Evans was eminently a thoughtful, reful, solid writer. He wrote as one would expect a wyer to do, but his style was in the cautious, balanced anner of a judge, fairly stating arguments *pro* and *con*, d then drawing conclusions; he never seemed to write as mere advocate or partizan. If sometimes dry, he was al- ays clear; his words were remarkably well chosen, and e flow of the periods was harmonious, though embel- hment was little thought of. Anything that was travagant, or that might remotely suggest the Ameri- n spread-eagle, he absolutely detested. Every sentence d a meaning, and but one possible meaning, and no sen- nce required to be read twice to see what that meaning as. The thought intended was conveyed to the mind, as e eye took in the words. If there was any difficulty, it as in the subject-matter, not in the style. He read and ought with great rapidity, but he took unusual pains with s composition. Every page was generally read over by m five times before he would allow it to go to press. The *ue Catholic* was beautifully and accurately printed, Mr. obinson, the publisher, understanding his business oughly. Dr. Evans considered Robinson the first cor- ctor of the press in Baltimore, Bishop Whittingham being e second, while he thought himself entitled to the third ace. The handwriting of the editor of the *True Catholic*,

it may be mentioned, was exceedingly difficult to decipher, though never careless. Mr. Robinson could not for many years find a compositor who was able to set up Hugh Davey Evans's MSS. correctly. In this dilemma his valued friend the late Rev. James Moore, then of S. Peter's, Ellicott Mills, Md., and more recently of Wooster, Ohio, acted as his amanuensis, and in later years, Mr. Robinson's daughter acquired a facility in reading and copying his pages.

Of Hugh Davey Evans's other works we must mention *Anglican Ordinations*, 2 vols., 12mo, which gained for him some reputation in England; *Theophilus Americanus*, a reprint of Bishop Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, with numerous and valuable additions; *The Episcopate*, and last of all *The Christian Doctrine of Marriage*, 1 vol., 12mo. All of these except the last are out of print. *The Christian Doctrine of Marriage* was published after his death, by Messrs. Hurd & Houghton of New York, in 1870. It is a learned work on which the author expended the labors of many years, and in which he gives the results of wide reading. In one chapter—that on the difficult question of divorce, the author defends both on Scriptural and logical grounds, a theory of divorce which has, perhaps, made some Churchmen look askance at the treatise. He maintains, without the slightest hesitation or misgiving, that when a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* has been procured for the cause of adultery, both parties are at liberty to marry again. “Logically (he says), it is not easy to see how a marriage can exist as to one party and not as to the other. If the adulteress is still the *wife* of her injured husband, after he has put her away, *he* must still be her *husband*, and so unable to take a second wife. If she be not his *wife*, it is not easy to see why she should not marry, unless a direct Divine prohibition could be found, which is not pretended.” (*The Christian Doctrine of Marriage*, Appendix, p. 364.)

On the other hand, he takes the strictest view in treating of the vexed question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. He argues at length that such marriages are forbidden by the Levitical laws, and, therefore, are rightly prohibited by the Table of Kindred and Affinity appended

to the English Prayer Book, and declared to be obligatory in this Church by the House of Bishops in 1808.

Hugh Davey Evans made his first appearance in the General Convention in the year 1847. His loyal devotion to the Church, his high conception of what a Church Synod should be, and above all his unfeigned modesty, which ever led him to take the lowest room, made him feel a genuine surprise when the word came which seemed to say to him, "Friend, go up higher." The cordial welcome that he received, the worship that he had in the presence of them that sat at meat with him in council, was a further surprise; and probably his connection with the General Convention and the friendships to which it introduced him, were among the greatest pleasures and satisfactions of his life. Dr. William E. Wyatt, President of the House of Deputies, at once placed him on the most important committee—that on Canons, where his knowledge and judgment were immediately appreciated. Without injustice to the distinguished names of Dr. Hawks, Dr. Cooper Mead, Dr. Craik, Judge Chambers and Judge Hoffman and others, it is probable that he was one of the most useful members of that committee until the memorable Convention of 1862. That Convention met in New York, in the height of the excitement of the Civil War. None who heard them will ever forget the powerful eloquence of Dr. Hawks and Dr. Mahan, against the quasi-political resolutions which, after thirteen days of hot discussion, eventually passed. The causes which led the Convention of Maryland to reject temporarily their old and honored lay-deputy will be found related with sufficient fullness in the second volume of Mr. Brand's "Life of Bishop Whittingham," which is, on the whole, the fairest narrative of those trying times that has yet been published. Hugh Davey Evans, however, as he assured the present writer, was misunderstood on this point. He objected, absolutely and on principle, to anything that looked like the introduction of politics into Church synods. He saw clearly from the first, what the General Convention of 1862 denied and what that of 1865 in effect admitted, that the question between the contending sections *was* a question of *politics* upon which a Church

synod, as such, should not attempt to pronounce an opinion. Had he been a member of the Convention of 1862, he would have voted, as the rest of the Maryland delegation did, with Drs. Hawks, Mahan, and Wm. Cooper Mead. And good company, too, he would have been in! The Maryland Convention, however, could not then know this, and it cannot with fairness be severely blamed for its action. Dr. Evans, to his great satisfaction, was re-elected, at the head of the poll, to the General Convention of 1868, but his death in the July previous prevented his taking his seat.

In 1852 he received the degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*, from the College of S. James in Maryland, and became Lecturer on Civil and Ecclesiastical Law in that institution. It was then the Diocesan College of Maryland, and was a place of considerable repute among Churchmen throughout the country until it was broken up by the Civil War which reached its neighborhood, and, indeed, its very grounds and buildings. He valued this honor, and his annual visits to the College, where he was a favorite with professors and students, proved a genuine source of enjoyment to his simple, childlike nature. Especially did he appreciate the warm and affectionate friendship of that admirable man, the late Bishop Kerfort, of Pittsburgh, then Rector of the College, and one of the ablest and most distinguished of those who have devoted themselves to education in America. There the present writer learned to know and love him, and he recalls many delightful and instructive hours spent in his company. Prof. Joseph H. Coit (now of Concord, N. H.), Prof. Passmore (late of Racine) and other members of the Faculty were also on terms of familiar intimacy with Dr. Evans, and greatly did he seem to delight in the new academical society in which he spent, as an honored guest, several weeks of every year from 1852 to 1864.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to show that the memory of Hugh Davey Evans is deservedly held in honor. There have not been many men like him in the American Church, and the growing generation of Churchmen will find not a little in his career and writings well worthy of study.

Few were more truly estimable in their private life; few

strove harder to live up to the high ideal that his writings set forth. Canon Liddon, in a sermon preached a few weeks ago in S. Paul's Cathedral, remarked that the "effect of faith in the unseen world shows itself in every circumstance of life. It would govern the disposal of income, for the private account book is the best guide to a man's deepest convictions." This was eminently so in the case of Dr. Evans. He was one of the few who kept a regular tithe account, and, narrow as his means were, he obligated himself to pay at least one tenth of his income into the Lord's Treasury. As an illustration of his inflexible integrity and the sensitiveness of his conscience, the following anecdote ought to be told. It shall be given in the words of his intimate friend, the Rev. James Moore:

On one occasion, when I entered his private office, I found him engaged over some business papers. In a few moments he tied them up in a bundle and deposited them in his desk; when, turning to me, with his countenance lighted up with unmingled gratification, he remarked that he felt very thankful and comfortable, and that he must tell me the cause. He then stated that, in the course of his professional business, he had become executor of an estate, which, on being settled, was found to yield, for the benefit of a widow, some three thousand dollars, and which constituted her entire resources for her support.

He consulted her, respecting the investment of the money, and was requested to use his own judgment in the matter. At that time he kept an account with, and deposited his own funds in the Bank of——, and believing it to be in a prosperous and safe condition, he concluded to deposit there the funds of his widowed client. Subsequently the bank failed. Many persons lost their money, among them Dr. Evans and the widow whose legal adviser he was.

Years passed away until the day above referred to, when in his private office he stated the facts to me, adding that soon after his own loss and that of his client, he felt that although he had acted according to the best judgment he could form at the time—his perfect confidence in which was evident from his having his own funds in the same bank—and although he was aware that he was under no obligation, either legal or moral, to repair the loss to the widow, he could not feel at liberty to disregard the pleadings of *Christian charity*, and at once determined to do what he could. He mentioned the subject to several of his brethren in the legal profession, and as he was not then in full practice, asked a share of their excess of business, which, in admiration of his motives, they readily granted. 'And,' said Dr. Evans in conclusion, 'I have this morning paid the widow the last cent of principal and interest, so that she loses nothing.' I will only add that in accordance with another of the Doctor's established principles (as I have reason to believe and remember), *he made a special contribution to the work of the Church as a thank-offering to God for enabling him to effect the object for which he had so long labored and prayed.*

The above case was by no means the only one known to me, in which that able and good man manifested the power of Christian principle, and the constraining influence of Christian charity. I know of another instance in which several hundred dollars, the amount of professional fees from a deceased husband, were returned to the widow and orphan children on learning that they were left without support. And I was myself the medium through which he restored to another family in need a considerable sum of money, received as fees from the deceased father and husband.

Such facts as these speak volumes, and show Hugh Davey Evans to have been one of those characters who are the salt of the earth, who so live as to be missed when they are gone, and however the bustling world may pass them by, they are really benefactors in their day and generation. The following extract from another unpublished letter of the Rev. James Moore, is too interesting to be omitted:

\* \* \* You may imagine what a task it was to decipher and copy all now found in the closely printed pages of *Anglican Ordinations* all the leaders of the *True Catholic, Church Times* and many of the contributions to the *New York Churchman*, under the signature H. D. E.; the American part of *Theophilus Americanus*, etc., etc. Sometimes, in order to keep ahead of the press, I was compelled to write all night. But I did it not only "for Zion's sake," but for the love I felt for our dear old friend, and was content to look for no other reward than that which satisfied him.

Dr. Evans was what might truly be called an "Evangelical Christian." Often we took counsel together when he opened his heart to me; and gave me an insight to the work of grace there progressing. During one of those exciting periods, when Church politics in Maryland ran high, and he was incessantly engaged in meeting the various issues of the times, he expressed to me his apprehensions lest he should receive some detriment to his spiritual interests, from being so much occupied with polemics. His words were: "I fear lest this life of controversy may deprive me of some portion of the comfort which arises from a persuasion that the love of God is shed abroad in my heart." At such times, when we thus held sweet counsel, I have often seen him, during intervals in the conversation, which were occasioned by the expression of some pious or solemn thought, close his eyes, and, leaning his head on his hand, murmur a half audible ejaculation to the Ear that is ever open. Persons who have not enjoyed the close and intimate intercourse with him that was providentially accorded to me, and met him only in social life, when circumstances presented him as the learned barrister, the profound theologian, or well-read literary man, or when a circle of young people elicited some of his brilliant displays of wit and humor, would, perhaps, have an imperfect idea of his devout piety, and deep religious reverence for all sacred things. He used to contend that this religious reverence was not only essential to the Christian character, but that it lies at the foundation of all true Churchmanship. Forgive me for writing thus, but his memory is precious to me.

If this imperfect sketch serves to recall Hugh Davey Evans to those who remember him in the days when he

was so well-known, and to give some notion of his character to others who have only heard his name, its purpose will be fully served. It is certainly safe to predict in conclusion, that so long as the history of our Church and of the General Convention continues to be studied, his name will not be forgotten by those who appreciate genuine learning, inflexible integrity, humble faith and piety, and, in short, all that goes to make up our ideal of the noble Christian Layman.

HALL HARRISON.

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### THE FINAL REASON FOR ACCEPTING THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

WHEN Dr. Morgan Dix speaks, it is with a rightful authority in matters theological. The character of the man, his single-heartedness, his courage, the power for good he is, his devotion to duty, his great and scholarly attainments, all demand and naturally have a hearing few men can command in the American Church.

It is not without pain, therefore, that minds constituted as many minds are, find him, in his most interesting biographical sketch of the late Dr. F. C. Ewer, published in the December ('83) number of the *AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW*, expressing the following sentiment: "God forbid that I or any one whom I love should fall into that helpless state in which the final reason for believing is because it seems to a man to be *true*." The italics are ours.

With him, belief avowedly rests simply on ecclesiastical authority. He does, indeed, admit "There may be, and there are, considerations to strengthen that assent to authority, helps when faith fails, or needs to be increased." But then follows the sentence first quoted, the straightforwardness of which is not one jot weakened by any such admissions. It deliberately sets assent upon the ground of ecclesiastical authority on one side, and assent to anything upon the ground of its being true on the other, and makes



the choice between them in language as strong as a man can use.

According to Dr. Dix then, "the Catholic Faith" is to be presented to the acceptance of intelligent and thinking men and women simply on the ground of an ecclesiastical authority—(wherever that may reside: "doctors differ")—and not on the ground of its demonstrably inherent truth. "Demonstrably" as moral truth, of course, and not as mathematical truth. The latter sort belongs to an entirely different domain. If he does not mean this, it is hard to know what meaning can reside in words.

If anything "seems to a man to be true," its truth is the ground of his accepting it. "The Catholic Faith" "seems" to Dr. Dix "to be true" on some ground or other, else it is to be supposed he would not hold it. It "seemed to be true" to Dr. Ewer, after a long and painful period of uncertainty; and so thoroughly did what he came to consider "Catholic Faith" seem to him to be true that he stood by it manfully "through evil report and good report" to a degree that impressed every one with the belief that to him it was the truth as such, and with admiration for his indomitable faithfulness to his convictions even when that admiration was not united with assent to his view of truth. Why, then, proclaim it to be a bad thing that "the final reason for believing is because it seems to a man to be true?" Does Dr. Dix mean to say that he holds what to him is the Catholic faith on authority without believing it to be true? or, to use his own words, *not* "because it seems to him to be true?" He surely cannot mean just that, but only that he has a final reason for believing what seems to him to be true, which differs from the final reason of some others for believing what seems to them to be true.

There certainly is authority for making a thing's "seeming to be true" a final reason for believing it.

Whether Bishop Pearson taught the Catholic Faith or not may depend upon what seems to a man to be true in that regard; but at any rate "Pearson on the Creed" is one of the text-books in the General Theological Seminary in the department of "Systematic Divinity." If our memory is not at fault, Pearson defines "belief" as "assent to

what is credible, *as credible*." Now, if there is any meaning at all in this, it is hard to see what else it involves than having some reason for assent and on the ground of a thing's "seeming to be true."

It certainly cannot mean that such a belief as Bishop Pearson would inculcate is a mere submission to the dicta of authority without proof; proof, of course, according to the nature of what is to be shown to be "credible." In short, what are all the works on "evidences" but effects to *prove* that the Catholic Faith *is true*? Would Dr. Dix dispense with the study of "evidences of Christianity?" If so, the course of instruction in the General Theological Seminary must be changed; for in the department of "Systematic Divinity" we find prescribed, besides "Pearson on the Creed," as part of that course, "Lectures by the Professor on the Evidences of Christianity," and "Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion."

Now, the lectures by the Professor *may* be mere assertions of ecclesiastical authority that Christianity (or, what is the same thing, the Catholic Faith) is to be received whether true or not. We hope not. We know that Pearson and Butler's Analogy are something more than that.

But other works than those of Pearson and Butler are found mentioned in the course of training at the Seminary; for instance, "The Four Gospels," "The Acts of the Apostles," "The Catholic Epistles," "The Epistles of S. Paul."

Perhaps these may have some bearing upon the question of "believing because it seems to a man to be true."

Whatever opinion others may hold, it is to be presumed that Dr. Dix considers the 2d Epistle of S. Peter to be "authentic and genuine" as the books on "evidences" put it. Now, in that Epistle, the author seems anxious to impress upon those to whom he was writing the *truth* of his assertions concerning "the power and coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST" (which power and coming have some connection with "the Catholic faith"); for he assures them that he can vouch for their truth on the ground of his having been an *eye-witness* of them. (2d Peter I, 16.)

Again, in his first Epistle (iii. 15), S. Peter gives this

advice to his readers: "Be ready always to give an *answer* (*ἀπολογία*) to every one that asketh you a *reason* (*λόγον*) of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear." And at the very outset of his contest for the Catholic faith, he, with S. John affirmed, "We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard" (Acts iv. 20); evidently an appeal to what was *true*.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, whoever may be its author, is a compact chain of *reasoning*—reasoning from data which were admitted to be true by those to whom the Epistle was addressed. And the same thing can be said of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, of which Epistle, "hard to be understood," no one has written a more masterly exposition than Dr. Dix himself—a work which ought to be at hand to every student of that grand letter. It is also noteworthy that after the dialectics proper of the Epistle the Apostle begins his conclusion thus: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your *reasonable* service (*λογικὴν λατρείαν*, *logical* worship.)" (Rom. xii. 1.)

S. Paul certainly seemed to consider of some importance conviction *upon evidence* that the Catholic faith was true. We read that at Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews, "Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three Sabbath days *reasoned* (*διελέξατο*) with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging that CHRIST must needs have suffered and risen from the dead; and that this JESUS whom I preach unto you is CHRIST." (Acts xvii. 2, 3). The word translated "reasoned" has for its fundamental meaning "to pick out one from another, to choose, to *argue*." Now, ecclesiastical *authority* does not "*argue*," it asserts, and sometimes, when its assertions are not accepted, it has anathematized, it has silenced opposition and argument by the dungeon, the rack, the stake. This same word, *διαλέγω*, describes S. Paul's course at Athens (Acts xvii. 17), where he taught the Catholic faith to Jews and Gentiles, of necessity being compelled to begin with different premises in each case: he "*disputed* in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons,

and in the market daily with them that met with him." Apparently a Christian Socrates. And what is the speech on Mars' Hill but an *argument*?

The writer of the Book of the Acts seems to have been a friend of S. Paul's, and to have looked at things in a somewhat Pauline fashion. In speaking (Acts xvii. 11, 12) of the Jews of Berea, he says, "These were more *noble* (εὐγενέστεροι) than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and *searched* (ἀνακρίνοντας) the Scriptures daily *whether these things were so*. Therefore (οὖν, as a natural consequence) many of them *believed*." It is noteworthy that the word rendered "searched" in this passage is the same one which the writer puts into S. Paul's mouth (Acts xxviii. 18) when the latter says to the Jews at Rome of the Roman authorities in Judea into whose hands he had been delivered as a criminal, "who, when they had *examined* me, would have let me go," etc. As the record shows, this "examination" extended over at least two years (Acts xxiv. 26, 27), and involved much sifting of evidence with a view of bringing out the truth concerning the alleged criminal: and as a result "it seemed to be true" that he had committed no offence of which his judges could take cognizance; just as the "searching" of the Scriptures by the Jews of Berea resulted in many of them that "it seemed to be true" that S. Paul had rightly expounded those Scriptures.

A wretched perversion has often been made of S. Paul's being "all things to all men." But it is clear that this attitude was simply meeting each man on his own ground, and persuading him by different processes of *reasoning* adapted to each case that what he, S. Paul, maintained was true. And so he naturally gave this injunction to some of those whom he was instructing in "the Catholic faith." "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." (1 Thess. v. 21). Δοκιμάζεν, the word rendered "prove," has as its fundamental meaning "to *test*, especially metals to see if they be pure; to hold as good *after trial*," i. e., to approve *upon evidence*. But there is a higher authority than even S. Paul upon this subject. S. Luke (xxiv. 26, 27) reports of our Blessed LORD, that when He joined the two

disciples on the way to Emmaus, He gave them *reasons* for believing in His resurrection—the keystone of the Catholic faith. “*Ought* not CHRIST to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He *expounded* unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself.” Before He suffered, He had made this appeal to those who were opposing Him. “If I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?” And when standing before the Roman Procurator, asserting His royalty, He was sneeringly asked by that officer, “Art Thou a King then?” His reply was, “Thou sayest it; I am a King. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should *bear witness to the truth*. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.” (S. John xviii. 37). His whole course while tabernacled in the flesh, was an appeal to men to believe Him on *evidence*; and may be summed up in one saying, “If I do not the works of my Father, believe Me not. But if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me and I in Him” (S. John x. 37, 38); and it was but an echo of this, when the greatest of the Apostles said: “Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are *true* \* \* \* if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.” (Philip. vi. 8).

That there are difficulties of belief, what man who knows men can deny? Is what claims to be “the Catholic faith” so little susceptible of proof as to its truth as to fear investigation? Is it to be received on other grounds than that it is true? And it *ought* to “seem to a man to be true” before he accepts it. Some one has well said concerning our Lord’s mode of dealing with men, “There is nothing which He would have visited with sterner censure than that short cut to belief which many persons take when, overwhelmed with the difficulties which beset their minds, and afraid of damnation, they suddenly resolve to strive no longer, but, giving their minds a holiday, to rest content with saying that they believe, and acting as if they did.”

We are very sure that neither Dr. Dix nor Dr. Ewer took this “short cut,” but that they accepted the Catholic faith *ex animo*, and *because* on sufficient *evidence* “it seemed to them to be *true*.”

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

THE SOURCES AND SCOPE OF THE LAW OF THE  
CHURCH.\*

JUDGE ANDREWS, who, by professional training, by judicial experience, and by long service in the Church, is entitled to speak with authority, has written a book which he has modestly called "Suggestions on the law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Its Sources and Scope." That book will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the too scanty literature of Church law, even by those who cannot bring themselves to agree with all of its author's conclusions. As I have the misfortune to differ from Judge Andrews on the most important points which he maintains, it becomes me to submit my conclusions with diffidence, claiming for them only such consideration, as may be found due to the weight of the authorities which I can adduce, and to the soundness of the reasoning with which I shall be able to support those authorities.

Judge Andrews agrees with Judge Hoffman in including the law of the land as one of the sources of Church law, but I venture to suggest, that in this country, and wherever else the Church is not established by law, the law of the land is external to the Church, and forms no part of Church law, which properly includes only the internal regulations of the Church respecting doctrine, discipline, and worship.

All religious denominations are in the eye of the law voluntary societies, and while they differ from other associations in that the aim and end of their existence is higher, and their members have become united not only from a desire to do good to others but also from a sense of conscientious obligation, yet this difference in intention can not affect the relation of the societies to the law of the land, which

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\* *Church Law—Suggestions on the Law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; Its Sources and Scope.* BY JOHN W. ANDREWS, Columbus, Ohio. New York: T. Whittaker; 1883.

knows no heresy, is committed to the support of no dogma, and does not discriminate in its application of legal remedies between a denomination of Christians, a synagogue of Jews, a benevolent organization which does not recognize the existence of the Deity, or a society of Atheists. The law affords equal protection to the property of each of these societies and enforces to a like extent the internal regulations by which each society governs its members. Technically, the rules of discipline of religious denominations are not laws, nor are their tribunals courts. Laws derive their sanction from the power of the State, and courts exercise a coercive jurisdiction which is vested in them by the State, but the internal regulations of churches, and the tribunals which administer those regulations, derive all their authority and all their jurisdiction from the voluntary assent of the members of those churches, given either in express terms or by implication necessarily resulting from the fact of membership. Therefore, the law says, when it is asked to give effect to any sentence of an ecclesiastical tribunal:

Show us that you had jurisdiction of the person of the defendant, by virtue of his membership in the denomination, that your own internal regulations vested in you jurisdiction of the subject matter, that you observed in your procedure every form which those regulations prescribe, and that, if no forms are prescribed therein, you acted in consonance with the principles of justice. If, having jurisdiction of the person and the subject matter, you have exercised that jurisdiction fairly, we will give effect to your judgment without examination into the merits.

And the law says to any one who seeks to set aside, or enjoin the execution of, a judgment of a church tribunal: If you have been condemned, after a fair and regular trial by a tribunal to whose jurisdiction you had antecedently submitted yourself, we can give no relief, even if we think the tribunal erred in its judgment upon the merits.

So also in controversies as to the ownership and possession of church property, the law finds its *ratio decidendi* in the principles which were first enunciated by Lord Eldon in *Craigdallie vs. Aikman* (1 Dow Parl. C., 1), and in *Att'y Genl. vs. Pearson* (3 Merivale, 353). The legal title to con-

gregational properties is, with us, almost universally vested in corporate organizations constituted of the members of the particular congregations, but the equitable title and the right to the possession and use of the property are treated as a trust, either implied from the denominational connection or independency of the congregation when the property was acquired, or expressed in the deed of conveyance. The inquiry, however complicated may be the circumstances of the particular case, is in the last result simply this: What is the trust upon which the property is held? If the terms of trust require the maintenance of certain doctrines without regard to denominational connection, what, as matters of fact and without regard to their theological soundness, are those doctrines, and have they, or have they not, been maintained.

If the mere adherence to any particular denomination be the condition of the trust, is that identical denomination in existence, and which party, plaintiffs or defendants, is in organic connection therewith? If the test be the maintenance of doctrines in connection with a denomination existent at the date of the trust, does that denomination maintain the same doctrines, or if it has departed therefrom, has its change of creed been regularly effected? In all these inquiries, the law treats the doctrinal, ritual, and disciplinary regulations of religious denominations as facts, if relevant, to be proven, and when proven, it adopts them as rules for decision, only because of the antecedent assent of the parties to their binding force.

Apart from the law of the land, Judge Andrews derive the law of the Church from its Constitution, its Canons, the Constitutions and Canons of the several Dioceses, the Rubrics of its Book of Common Prayer, the Articles and "such forms and usages and laws of the Church of England, as have been adopted" in the Constitution and Canons of the Church, and as that great body of Canon law and the judicial expositions thereof, which constitute the Common or unwritten law of the Church of England, have not been expressly adopted in the Constitution or Canons of our Church, Judge Andrews excludes them as sources of Church law. Upon this point I take issue with him. The



question is not one of mere speculative interest, but it is of practical importance to the Church, for, if Judge Andrews be right in his contention, the law of the Church is to be found only in articles which set forth the fundamental doctrines of the faith; in rubrics, which prescribe the manner of conducting Divine worship; and in organic acts and statutes which have established a system of ecclesiastical government, but which altogether fall so far short of a code of laws, or even of an exhaustive statement of principles, that they do not attempt to define the powers and functions of the Bishops and other clergy of the Church.

Is the office and work of a Bishop adequately defined in the Constitution and Canons of the Church? The fundamental principles which constituted the common basis of union upon which met in Philadelphia in 1784 the first Convention of the Church in Pennsylvania recognize an existing Church with three orders in its Ministry, whose respective rights and powers were to be ascertained and to be exercised according to reasonable laws to be duly made. As those laws have not been enacted, is there any other conclusion than that they were not enacted only, because the Common law of the Church was regarded as so far effective that legislation upon these subjects was deemed unnecessary?

The Constitution and the Canons of the General Convention have defined the legislative functions of the Bishops, and they have delegated to the Dioceses the power of prescribing the mode of trying clergymen, thereby limiting to some extent the exercise by the Bishops of their inherent judicial jurisdiction, but will any one say that the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States is so really unepiscopal that a Bishop cannot in the administration of his See, lawfully use any power or authority other than that which that Constitution and those Canons have in express terms conferred upon him? A Bishop's authority must not of course be exercised arbitrarily. Yet how are its necessary limits to be determined otherwise than by reference to the Common law of the Church? Take the burning question of the relations of rectors and vestries. Is it consistent with either the dignity or the unity of the Church that the tenure of office and the legal functions of its parish clergymen

should be dependent upon the terms of a civil contract of employment in each individual case? Yet how can the correlative rights and duties of the clergy and laity be ascertained if recourse be not had to the Common law of the Church? Take the cases of parish churches and their chapels. Will the Canons of the General Convention or of the Dioceses solve the difficulties which sometimes grow out of that relation? Here again comes in the common law of the Church. These are but illustrations, and it would be easy to add largely to them, but they serve to show that the question upon which I take issue with Judge Andrews, is not theoretical, but practical.

Judge Andrews endeavors to support his contention by the analogies of Federal and State law, by the citation of English authorities to establish the proposition that the legal status of the Colonial churches was that of entire independence of the authority of the Church of England, and by a critical review of the history of the Church in the United States. I shall try to show that he is not entitled to the verdict on any of the grounds upon which he rests his case.

I shall first meet the argument based upon the analogies of the Federal government and the States. The Federal government was, as we all know, formed by the union of sovereign States which delegated to it certain express powers, and as it cannot lawfully exercise any power which has not been in express terms granted to it, that government, as such, has no Common law. Yet the several States have that Common law which the English settlers brought as their birthright to the Colonies, and which to-day, so far as not modified by statutes, constitutes the great body of the law in all the States of the Union, Florida and Louisiana alone excepted, and which is administered both in the Federal and State courts. So the Church in the Colonies before the Revolution, constituted as it was of separate congregations, whose only bond of union was in their common subjection to the authority of their one diocesan, the Bishop of London, had as its Common law, the law of the Church of England, which was not abrogated by that ecclesiastical union which constituted the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, any more than the confed-

eration of the United States ended the rule of the Common law in the several States. Such would be my answer, if the analogy between the Church and the United States were as close as Judge Andrews claims it, but as I do not admit it, to be. The union of the Church in this country was not a federal league of independent and separately existent Colonial churches, but it was in fact, an union of individual congregations in one Church, which for convenience of administration is divided into Dioceses, but in whose governing body there is vested, but not by delegation, a general power of legislation, subject to certain organic restrictions. The true analogy therefore, is to be found not between the Church and the Federal government, but between the Church and its Dioceses on the one hand, and any one State and its several counties on the other hand. Surely no one will contend that when Pennsylvania was wrested from the English crown, and subsequently divided into counties, that State thereby lost the Common law of England, nor ought any one to claim that like circumstances have been followed by a different result in the Church.

Judge Andrews cites several English authorities and from them he deduces the rule that the legal status of Colonial churches was that of entire independence, and applying that rule to the Colonial Church in our country he holds "that they were in full accord with the Church of England in all essential points of doctrine, discipline and worship, and thus, while entirely independent of her were substantially identified with her." I cannot so read those authorities.

In the case of *Long vs. The Bishop of Capetown*, 1 Moore P. C. N. S., 411, the question was as to the validity of the deprivation of the Rev. Mr. Long, a clergyman of the Church of England, by the judicial action of the Bishop of Capetown, a Bishop of that Church in South Africa. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council held that the offence for which Mr. Long had been deprived was not one which, according to the laws of the Church of England, warranted the appellants' deprivation, and they therefore decided against the validity of the decree of deprivation. Lord Kingsdown in his opinion said that which Judge Andrews quotes as follows:

The Church of England, in places where there is no church established

by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better, but in no worse position, and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them. It may be further laid down that, where any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but has also constituted a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequence of such violation, then the decision of such tribunal will be binding, when it has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms be prescribed, and if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice. In such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense Courts; they derive no authority from the Crown; they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences; they must apply for that purpose to the courts established by law: and such courts will give effect to their decisions, as they give effect to the decision of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties.

In the later case of the Bishop of Natal vs. Gladstone, L. R., 3 Equity, page 35, Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, thus comments upon Lord Kingsdown's *dicta*. He says:

All that really is meant by these words is, that where there is no State religion established by the Legislature in any colony, and in such a colony is found a number of persons who are members of the Church of England, and who establish a church there with the doctrines, rites, and ordinances of the Church of England, it is A PART OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE MEMBERS OF IT ARE BY IMPLIED AGREEMENT, BOUND BY ALL ITS LAWS. In other words, the association is bound by the doctrines, rites, rules, and ordinances of the Church of England, except so far as any statutes may exist which (though relating to this subject) are confined in their operation to the limits of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland. Accordingly, upon reference to the civil tribunal, in the event of any resistance to the order of the Bishop in any such colony, the court would have to inquire, not what were the peculiar opinions of the persons associated together in the colony as members of the Church of England, but what were the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England itself, obedience to which doctrine and discipline the Court would have to enforce.

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In the carefully considered judgment delivered on that occasion, no suggestion is made that the church established at Cape Town, over which Dr. Gray presided as Bishop, is not a part of the Church of England, nor does any doubt seem to have been entertained by the Court on that point. On the contrary, the whole judgment proceeds on the assumption, and is based on the foundation, that the church so established is a portion of the Church of England. That judgment states, that the Church of England, in places where there is no church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, thereby affirming that the Church of England may extend to and have branches in places where it is not established by law.

*In re* Bishop of Natal, 3 Moo., P. C. N. S., 115, the ques-

tion was as to the validity of the deposition of Bishop Colenso by Bishop Gray, his Metropolitan, and the Court decided against the validity of the deposition on the ground that the Metropolitan could not exercise coercive jurisdiction, but neither the judgment, nor the reasons given for it, touched the relation of Colonial churches to the law of the Church of England. Judge Andrews quotes from Lord Westbury's judgment in that case the following paragraph:

It cannot be said that any ecclesiastical tribunal or jurisdiction is required in any colony or settlement where there is no established Church; and in the case of a settled colony the Ecclesiastical Law of England cannot, for the same reason, be treated as part of the law which the settlers carried with them from the mother country.

A careful examination of that judgment will convince any one that the Ecclesiastical Law of England which Lord Westbury said could not be treated as part of the law which the settlers carried with them from the mother country was not the law of the Church of England, but the law of the establishment, that is to say, the statutory procedure by which coercive, as distinguished from voluntary, jurisdiction is carried into effect.

In the case of the Bishop of Natal vs. Gladstone, L. R. 3 Equity, 1, the question was as to the right of Bishop Colenso to recover his salary from the trustees of the Colonial Bishopric Fund, objection having been made that, as under the last cited case, a Colonial Bishop could not exercise coercive jurisdiction, the letters patent had failed to create a legal see or diocese, and that therefore the plaintiff had never been such a Bishop as was contemplated by the trust. The Master of the Rolls gave judgment for the plaintiff and his judgment was not appealed from. On page 43 he says:

The cases show that the district or colony of Natal is a district presided over by a Bishop of the Church of England, which is properly termed a See or Diocese, that the ministers, deacons and priests, officiating within that district, and also all the laymen professing to be members of the Church of England, constitute, not a church in Natal in union and full communion with the Church of England, but a part of the Church of England itself, and that all the ministers, priests and deacons, there officiating, and all the persons composing the several flocks, are members and brethren of the Church of England, in the strict sense of the term. The consequence is, that they have in all matters ecclesiastically voluntarily submitted themselves to the control of the Bishop of Natal, so long as it is exercised within the scope of his authority, according to the principles prescribed by the Church of England.

And on page 49 he says:

The members of the Church in South Africa may create an ecclesiastical tribunal to try ecclesiastical matters between themselves, and may agree that the decisions of such a tribunal shall be final, whatever may be their nature or effect. Upon this being proved the civil tribunal would enforce such decisions against all the persons who had agreed to be members of such an association, that is, against all the persons who had agreed to be bound by these decisions, and it would do so without inquiring into the propriety of such decisions. But such an association would be distinct from, and form no part of, the Church of England, whether it did or did not call itself in union and full communion with the Church of England. It would strictly and properly be an Episcopal Church, not *of*, but *in*, South Africa, as it is the Episcopal Church *in* Scotland, but not *of* Scotland. But if the Episcopal Church in South Africa chose to remain part of the United Church of England and Ireland, then no such irresponsible tribunal could exist, and when recourse is had to the civil tribunals to enforce obedience to these decisions, they must be subject to revision to the extent I have already pointed out, as laid down by the judgment, in the case of Long vs. Bishop of Capetown. In one case it is one Church in all the colonies, each association being part of the parent Church of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland; in the other case they are separate and distinct Episcopal Churches, each existing separate in each colony, and distinct from every other Church, bound by their own canons only, and no more bound by the canons of any other Church than they would be by the canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, according to their final settlement by the last synod held in Edinburgh in 1860 for that purpose, and all of them rejecting, as the Church in Scotland is compelled to do, the thirty-seventh of the Articles of the English Church, which puts the Sovereign at the head of the Church.

There is nothing in *Merriman vs. Williams*, Law Reports, 7 Appeal Cases, 484-509, to vary the effect of the preceding cases, for there the question was whether or not the Episcopal Church of South Africa could claim the benefits of endowments which had been given for the Church of England in South Africa. It was held that it could not, and the judgment of the Privy Council was rested upon the fact, that the congregations in South Africa originally belonging to the Church of England had effected a denominational organization under the title of the Episcopal Church of South Africa, had organized a Synod as the ecclesiastical judicature of that denomination, and had adopted a constitution, which in express terms qualified the adherence of the denomination to the accepted standards and formularies of the Church of England by a proviso (which Judge Andrews does not quote), which clearly states that the Church of South Africa would not consent

to be bound by the decision in questions of faith and doctrine, or in questions of discipline relating to faith and doctrine, of any tribunals other than those of its own selection.

I submit that these cases, so far from justifying the construction which Judge Andrews has put upon them, clearly show that the status of a Colonial Church constituted of members of the Church of England is, so long as it does not attempt to effect an independent ecclesiastical organization, or adopt a constitution defining its organic law, that of an integral part of the Church of England, but where, as such, a Colonial Church does effect an independent organization or does adopt a constitution, it thereby constitutes itself an independent Church. Now, it is clear that the Church in the American Colonies consisted of congregations which maintained the doctrines of the Church of England, which did not make any attempt towards the formation of an independent Church, either by organization or by the adoption of a constitution, and which were subject to the authority of their one diocesan, the Bishop of London. Therefore, by virtue of legal status, the Church in the American Colonies was not a distinct Church in communion with the Church of England, but it was a part of the Church of England, and as such governed by the laws of that Church.

There ought not, at this late day, to be any doubt either as to the controlling facts\* in the history of the Church in the United States, or as to the inferences to be drawn from them, for those facts are few in number, they are clearly proved by unquestioned records, and they are defined in meaning by the contemporaneous exposition of Bishop White, who, in so far as any mortal man could, shaped and moulded the framework of that body which is now the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

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\* The historical authorities from which I have taken the facts stated in the text, are Bishop White's *Memoirs*, Bishop Perry's *Hand-book of the General Convention*, Bishop Wilberforce's *History of the American Church*, and Dr. Humphrey's *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1780).

The Church in the colonies was planted in the seventeenth century by immigrants who were members of the Church of England. It was nurtured by "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which had been chartered by William III. in 1701, and which, until the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, sent forth missionaries, gathered congregations, built and endowed churches, and supported parish clergymen, and, in each and every instance, the missionaries and the parish clergymen were clergymen of the Church of England, the congregations were congregations of the Church of England, and their houses of worship were churches of the Church of England. The Diocesan authority of the Bishop of London over the Church in the colonies was asserted in 1676 by Bishop Compton, recognized in 1723 by a commission granted by the Crown to Bishop Gibson, and acknowledged with gratitude by the Convention of 1785. In 1750 Archbishop Secker described the Colonial Churchmen as "members of our Church in America," and, in 1785, the General Convention of the Church in the United States reminded the Prelates of the Church of England that—

Our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity did not leave the bosom of that Church, over which your lordships now preside; but, as well from a veneration for Episcopal government, as from an attachment to the admirable services of our liturgy, continued in willing connection with their ecclesiastical superiors in England, and were subjected to many local inconveniences rather than break the unity of the Church to which they belonged.

Surely, if any fact can be proven by historical evidence, it is conclusively proven that the Church in the Colonies was part and parcel of the Church of England. Will any one then say that that Colonial Church was subject to no law other than the by-laws of the vestries of its severed congregations? If it was subject to law, will any lawyer undertake to maintain, contrary to the expressed opinion of Lord Romilly, that that law could be any other than that of the Church of England? If, in any congregation of the Colonial Church there had been litigation as to the right of any individual to officiate as a parish minister, or as to the right of any number of individuals to control the property, could the Colonial courts have determined the contest



otherwise than by the application of the law of the Church of England? To ask these questions is to answer them.

The Church in the United States is not a new body, founded in 1783 by Bishop White and his co-laborers, clerical and lay, and as such the legal successor of the Colonial Church, but it is by the express terms of the authoritative declaration of the General Convention of 1814 "the same body heretofore known in these States by the name of 'the Church of England.'" Its Book of Common Prayer, though professedly compiled as a new book, is, in fact, the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, amended by alterations "in the prayers for Our Civil Rulers in consequence of the Revolution," and in certain minor particulars, which to the Convention of 1787 seemed expedient, and yet with an expressed determination not "to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." Its Bishops derive their succession from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England by virtue of a solemn declaration signed by every member of the Convention of 1786, and addressed to the English Bishops in these words:

We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your lordships that we neither have departed nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship, as far as was consistent with our Civil Constitution, and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer, but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate than to dispute.

Bishop White and Bishop Provoost, consecrated upon those terms, and by the act of consecration invested with inherent Episcopal functions, subsequently united with Bishop Seabury and with the clergy and laity of the Church in the United States in the adoption of the Constitution of 1789.

The Church in the Colonies being a part of the Church of England, and as such subject to the Common Law of that Church, and the identity of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," with "the Church of England" in the Colonies, and the agreement of the former with the latter in every "essential point of doc-

"trine, discipline and worship" being established, can it with any show of reason be contended that the Church in the United States is not to be bound by so much of the Common Law of the Church of England as has not been expressly superseded by the legislation of the Church in the United States? As the revolution in the State did not abolish the Common law of the land by its substitution of the sovereignty of the people for that of the Crown, so the consequent emancipation of the Church from the royal supremacy, and from the "mild and paternal government" of the Bishop of London, left its Common law in unimpaired force and vigor.

The necessary limits of an article in the REVIEW have forbidden me to comment in detail upon every historical fact relied upon, and every reason advanced by Judge Andrews, and I have been forced to content myself with the presentation of what is merely a brief outline of that historical and legal argument, which has heretofore, upon adequate grounds of reason and authority, been accepted, by some of the most learned Canonists of the Church in the United States.

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

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#### APOLOGETICS—ITS PROPER ATTITUDE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

CHRISTIANITY has often reason to ask to be defended from its defenders. The Christianity of Christ needs no apology. There is blasphemy in the admission. But the Christianity of men does, for it has always been profoundly inferior to that of CHRIST. Both our imperfect apprehension, and our still more imperfect manifestation of, Christianity make constant apologies necessary; make it a constant duty to set it forth as free as possible from these human limitations; to vindicate its true form and content from misconceptions of friends and from calumnies of foes. Indeed, in its technical

sense, Apologetics is the science and art of that vindication of Christianity which is only completed, in a counter-attack and dislodgment of the assaulting enemy. But this work is often most imperfectly done. Too often it fails to start from the postulate that Christianity is absolute truth, and in and of itself needs no apology; that it is self-evidencing and self-vindicating; that the witness of God is greater than the witness of men; that "The Faith" has authority of *itself*, as well as reason, and is the inherent ground principle and subject matter of the science of Apologetics. And yet, as we have indicated, Christianity comes into certain relations that demand the application of principles of vindication in a real contest. S. Peter exhorted all his fellow-Christians to "be always ready to give an answer (*ἀπολογία*) to every man" asking a reason for their Christian hope (1 S. Peter, iii. 15). S. Paul wrote to the Philippians: "I am set for the defence (*ἀπολογία*) of the gospel" (Phil. i. 17). Before Agrippa he *answered for himself* (*ἀπελογεῖτο*). The early fathers adopted this word and applied it to their evidences, defences and vindications of Christianity against all opponents. They were Christian apologists. Thus the word came to have a technical sense, as indeed it had in classic Greek. Plato's *Apology* for Socrates, like Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, was a vindication against all calumnious charges, by a setting forth of the *real* Socrates. This, too, reminds us that Dr. John Henry Newman thought it necessary to write his "*apologia pro mea vita*," when he perverted to Rome. There are not lacking men in the Church to-day who are weary of Apologetics, who decry all the literature whose aim is to vindicate the truth of Christianity. Two classes thus make light of this branch of study—the Rationalists and the Ritualists; those who over-use their intellects and those who under-use them, or those who have not much faith left to apologize for, and those who have not much reason to give for the faith that is in them. A slur is cast upon the study from the use of the word apology. But the taint that might seem to inhere in it from its ordinary meaning is not the one that belongs to it. It has a nobler birthright and inheritance in all sacred and classical literature. The *modern* technical use of the

word, however, began in the eighteenth century. Schleiermacher first stamped the name upon this department of theology. But the contest with the Deists in England gave it its form and character. Christianity was then exhaustively defended on the *grounds of reason*. And since then, though always doing effective temporary work as an art of defence, it has gradually and unconsciously been weakening the ground of Christianity as the absolute religion by its main principle as a science; *i.e.*, defending Christianity on the grounds of reason. Hence it has come to pass that Apologetics, in its technical sense, needs an apology, in the common sense of an excuse for a blunder, or a fault. This apology, however, will, in this article, be only slight and incidental to the main purpose of asserting the true remedy therefor. The trend of Apologetics hitherto, I confidently affirm, has been too rationalistic, and as confidently I maintain that the trend of Apologetics to-day should unquestionably be towards the stronger assertion and vindication of the *supernatural* character of the origin, growth, existence, life and future of Christianity. Naturalism is having its day in the world, and unconsciously enough has been admitted into the methods of religious thought. Instead of the hyper-supernaturalism of the former age we have now, at best, only a natural supernaturalism—the earth and all mysteries made an open vision to the natural understanding of man. The time seems fast passing away when opponents of Christianity can ground all their objections to it in its supernatural pretensions. And yet the denial of the supernatural is the root of all possible objections to Christianity. If we have allowed rationalism to so saturate our method of Apologetics as to take from unbelievers the grounds of objections to Christianity, then we surely need to purge it of this leaven and once again believe and assert that the heavens are above the earth; that the SON of God not only descended from heaven, but also that He has thither ascended again, that He may draw all men unto Himself. If we must have naturalism, it should at least be a supernatural-naturalism, owing to the abiding presence of our EMMANUEL in the Church on earth. But, instead of playing into the enemy's hand by helping to break down all

barriers between the supernatural and the natural, we need especially to-day to assert and vindicate the supernatural—its necessity, moral and philosophical; its orderly successive manifestations as a *system* in creation, nature and man, as their real hypostasis; in the historic revelation, the incarnation, and in the Church in regeneration, sacraments, sanctification and its ultimate triumph. Christianity begins, lives, and is to have its consummation, not in and by the natural, but in and by the supernatural. Using the word apology in its common instead of its technical sense, we may say that Christianity has been so immoderately apologized for by some of its friends, that there remains little to distinguish it from natural religion. Prof. Seeley's "*Ecce Homo*" was the acme of this sort of apology. His late work, "Natural Religion," is its logical and actual bathos. What a warning picture this should be to many Christian teachers of the natural progress of their method from the supernatural to the merest natural!

The pendulum of Christian thought vibrates from the extreme of hyper-supernaturalism to that of hypo-naturalism. The English Deists attacked Christianity because it was held by the Christian thought of the time as so supernatural as to be almost *contrary* to both nature and reason. The acme of this Deistic opposition is represented by Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, and Tindal's *Christianity as old as Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*. The apologetic replies sank down to that of Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, the gulf finally being nearly closed. Bishop Butler's noble, *necessary* and triumphant work of that day has not been without its evil-working limitations. It vindicated the harmony between Reason and Revelation—a harmony *both* of their mysteries and their truths, and that, too, not at the expense of Christianity. But from his method have come the two modern evils of naturalism and agnosticism.\* We wish, in this article to deal only with the first of these—

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\* Mr. Leslie Stephens, in an article, entitled *An Agnostic's Apology*, in speaking of Bishop Butler's great argument, says: "Like some of the theological arguments, *that one* is to *many* minds—that of James Mill, for example—a direct assault upon Theism; or, in other words, an argument for agnosticism."

naturalism. Since his day, and partly owing to his method, there has been almost a steady decline in the vindication of the supernatural element of Christianity.

So true is this that the very titles of the Deistic works *against* Christianity might most fitly be placed upon the title-page of some of the modern defences of Christianity. For to-day we have this foe, not only without, but also within the very bosom of professed Christianity. The Church's worst foes are those of its own household. Some of these are intentional, covert foes; others are only unwittingly so. Such are some of those who are zealously laboring for the truth of Christianity by trying to prove its *reasonableness*. I am writing chiefly with these in view.

Without mentioning the numerous books that belong to this current class of apologetic literature, I am content to affirm that the end of them, one and all, is that so logically reached and so fearlessly expressed in Professor Seeley's *Natural Religion*—a religion torn from all its supernatural roots, swathings, atmosphere and life.

Thus the pendulum of Christian thought has with many swung to its extreme limit on the natural side. The "sweet reasonableness" of Christianity has been so fully asserted that it now seems to be only *the best* of the various religions of men—their consummate FLOWER—but nothing more, for the *end* of the natural evolution has not yet been reached. Christian teachers who are emphasizing this, the natural and human side of Christianity, are only playing into the hands of its foes; for Rationalists, Pantheists, and even Atheists assert the same. Strauss, Renan, J. S. Mill, and most of their followers, are content to reduce Christianity to the *highest* form of the natural evolution of humanity on its religious side, and are not loath to condescendingly lavish such praise upon it.

In Coleridge's day, Dr. Paley's breakwater school of *external* evidences was pushed so far as to lead him to cry out: "Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it . . . and you may safely trust it to its *own* evidence." This reaction followed, then, in the line of the "*Moral Evidences*" of Christianity—another form of rationalistic apologetics. Coleridge ex-

pressed the core of this system in his famous phrase, "Christianity *finds me*."—that is, harmonized with, met and satisfied his rational, moral and spiritual needs. Thus, though doing great service, he helped to carry on the reaction and to Anglicize the German Transcendentalism which had even then reached the vortex of Pantheism. The mythical theory was the natural method this school resorted to in its philosophy of Christianity. Coleridge was himself, indeed, very far from reaching that position. "Christianity," he said, "*finds me* in the lowest depth of my being, as no other system can. It meets there my direst needs." Thus he did not attempt to pare down the supernatural in the cold, rationalistic way, but rather strove to *raise the human mind* to the level of Revelation, where mysteries would cease to be mysteries. But in doing this—in insisting upon "the Reason" as the faculty of Inspiration—he reduced Revelation to an elevated and yet to only a *natural* state of the human consciousness. His personal intention and influence were on the side of Christianity, as were also those of most of the members of the Broad Church School, of which he was the Philosophical Coryphæus. Though we can only speak with reverence of F. D. Maurice and some others, we need not hesitate to say that the final outcome of the method of that school has been the merest naturalism. For the good that it has done, it should be esteemed; for the evil of its present ways, it should be abandoned.

*Ethical* rationalism is *another* form of naturalism. Of this, *Kant* was the real father. His *Religion within the Bounds of Pure Reason*, is that of many Christian teachers to-day. Another form is the hydra-headed Hegelianism, which patronizingly evolves *Christianity*, with a host of other truths, from a process of thought. Take the whole school and its work, I think we may unhesitatingly pronounce it to be pantheistic—some exceptions of course to be allowed. I ought perhaps to express a more guarded opinion, but it is fashionable with those who admire rather than understand Hegel, to talk glibly about it, as the absolute and final philosophy. I have studied it sufficiently to confess that either I do not understand it, or that *it is thoroughly pantheistic*, and that his apology for Christianity is utterly

destructive of its own claims. While claiming to the profoundest speculative truths in the mysteries of the faith, *Hegelians* allow these to be only the popular and mythical forms of *moments* in the dialectic process of thought, while talking loftily and condescending of the Holy Trinity; of the incarnation and atonement, of the Word, the Sacraments and of Christianity as the absolute religion, they yet fairly despise these as presented in the Scriptures and the Creeds. Their pantheism enables them to retain the sacred names and venerated formulas, while discarding the sacred realities properly denoted by them. I venture to question whether any thorough going Hegelian Christian esteems the historical facts and dogmas of Christianity as anything better than mythical. Hegel himself, according to Rosenkranz speaks of miracles, and the whole historical supernaturalism of Christianity as having the reality of myth only, and not of fact. God, man, and nature are all engulfed in the logical thought process. Christianity is likewise evolved from this process—a part of it, and like other parts, *subordinate* to it. Deity attains to self-conscious personality through that of man. It reconciles Christianity and philosophy by making *true Christianity* to be one of the products of thought, as popular Christianity is of the imagination. But as Dr. Newman Smythe well remarked, “since the general breaking up of Hegelianism in Germany, it would be a work of supererogation to venture to condense it into any one intelligible English phrase, or to burden our pages with an extended notice of the *great truths* and greater assumptions, which have marked the modern attempt to make the history of man turn itself into a process of thought, and behave itself like a proper Hegelian. We may gladly avail ourselves, however, of the evidence in behalf of the truth that there is reason in all things, and that spirit is everywhere present and active, which is presented by the persistent vitality of idealism in modern philosophy; though we may refuse to entangle our understandings in the mazes of this infinite speculation.”\*

As the outcome of Kantian and Hegelian idealism has

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\* Old faiths in new lights, p. 64.



been sheer naturalism, so also has been the result of much of the study of comparative religions. The historical method of investigation is having a triumphal journey o'er the whole continent of learning. As applied by many to the study of "the religions of the world," it is largely aiding in the attempt to de-supernaturalize Christianity. The Christian religion is granted to be the highest and most perfect development that the spirit of humanity has yet reached. Like other religions it springs from the soil, is of purely natural human origin, and differs from them only in degree. In opposition to the Christian view of the origin of all the religion of the world, it assumes that the primitive religions were the lowest, and that by merely natural evolution they have been the efficient or mechanical cause of the later and higher ones. In their Pantheon JESUS is invited to take the throne above JEHOVAH, Jove and all the lesser deities, but there may yet be a higher deity evolved from humanity, who will take the throne above JESUS CHRIST.

Thus Bishop Butler, and Coleridge, Kant, Hegel and the "Comparative Religions" schools, differ as they may in intention and method, have all aided in really widening the breach by false attempts to close it up by either elevating the authority of human reason, or by depressing that of the supernatural revelation. This process, as I have said, has been most graphically illustrated by Professor Seeley's rapid decline from his *Ecce Homo* to his *Natural Religion*.

Nor should we omit all mention of the *chef d'œuvre* of the modern *Ecce Homo* School, that of Dr. Ullmann. In 1833 he published his era-making volume on *The Sinlessness of JESUS*, from which most of the school have freely borrowed without as frankly acknowledging. In fact the best works in this line have only been a following out of the scheme there presented. I well remember the impression the work made upon me,—how it lifted me out of the depths, because with one grand stroke it raised my LORD above all human criticism. He there made the person and the work of CHRIST, the great evidential miracle of Christianity—its irrefutable credential. He there set forth the Historic CHRIST as the great moral miracle of the world. Dr. Chan-

ning, following the same line in his sermon on *The Character of CHRIST*, says, "I am compelled to exclaim with the centurion, 'truly this was the Son of God,'" vol. iv. 20. Dr. John Young in his *CHRIST of History*, and Dr. Horace Bushnell in his famous chapters in his *Natural and Supernatural* set forth the same line of evidence, i. e., JESUS the one great moral evidential miracle.

But I do not wish to now draw attention to this evidence; I believe that it is irrefutable. But I wish chiefly at present to call attention to the *limitations and dangers* of this method. Dr. Ullmann's *Ecce Homo* led him *irresistibly* to an *Ecce Deus*. It has led many others the same heavenly way, just as it did S. Thomas. "*My LORD and my GOD*" was the Apostles logic from the evidence of the real bodily presence of his risen Master.

But there is a method of studying the *man* JESUS that leads from an *Ecce Homo* to the antipodes of an *Ecce Deus*. It is not, perhaps, without significance, that the phrase *Ecce Homo* was first used by the heathen governor Pontius Pilate of the thorn-crowned purple clad JESUS, whom he delivered up to the Jews to be crucified, It was used in a far different sense by the real disciple who some *twenty* years ago wrote the stirring, warming, inspiring book with that title. But is it not on the lips of many to-day, who have read his latest book on *Natural Religion*, to exclaim: He has crucified his LORD afresh! Those who read his first book could repeat S. Thomas' exclamation—"My LORD and my GOD." Those who read his last must sadly exclaim with Mary Magdalene: "they have taken away my LORD and I know not where they have laid him." There is in fact no LORD and GOD in that book which eliminates the supernatural and seems as far as possible to have an antipathy to it.

Renan himself does little less in his romance, *Vie de Jésus*. His JESUS is also, confessedly, the purest, loftiest and most truthful of men and worthy of the place the world has accorded him in its Pantheon. From the four legendary Gospels he constructs an historical one, which, however, closes with the *burial* of JESUS and gives no resurrection of "the life of the world."

When Professor Seeley published his *Ecce Homo*, Lord Shaftesbury denounced it emphatically as manifestly of infernal origin. With such infamous criticism we have no sympathy. But of the evil tendency in the work, I think most Christian teachers have become aware through his latest deliverances in his *Natural Religion*.

But it is no particular book that I would criticise—It is rather a *whole method of evidence*—that method, or those schools of thought which think to sustain Christianity by proving its naturalness, its sweet reasonableness, its lofty morality, its fitness to man's needs, its grand ideals and exemplar—the sentimental, the moral, the rational, the psychological, the anthropological—the *historical*—*all* but the strictly supernatural line of defense, or rather all of these, when divorced from the supernatural setting. There is, indeed, truth in them all, and all have done great service in the cause of Christianity against unbelief. The full argument for Christianity is both complex and cumulative. It needs all these elements, but it needs them starting from saturated and closing with the *supernatural*. Naturalism has always been too ready to take up with any one of them and guide it in its own grooves. And many true Disciples have not been able to keep this naturalistic element out of their own presentation of Christianity. They say the creed as far as “and was made man” and stumble on through “He descended into hell,” and *there alas*, like Renan, *stop*.

I believe that many Christians to-day are ready to say as to much of the modern apologetic “Reasonableness of Christianity,” what Coleridge did as to the external evidences of Paley's school: “*Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word.*”

We are weary of such evidences because they so often lead us away from the LORD, and because they no longer have power against the foes of Christianity. The enemy has either seized and turned their guns against Christian Apologists, or they no longer find any great reason for contending with them. The temper too of our foes is fast changing. Finding no valid answer to the question “what is truth;” sceptical as to the results and authority of reason as well as of revelation; passing from rationalism

into Agnosticism; all the arguments for the naturalness and reasonableness of Christianity are wasted upon know-nothing ears. Agnostics now revile reason as much as ever the most narrow theologians have done.

When in a calm critical mood, these Agnostics consider all philosophies and religions as attractive and valuable, because not one of them is worth destroying or defending. Nor does science really and finally fare better at their hands, for their theory cuts the roots of all valid knowledge of things under the heavens, as well as of things above the earth. The inductive method is no more infallible in the realm of matter, than in the equally unknown realm of mind. Thus different evidence, or rather, other grounds of belief, are in demand by the situation. The authority of reason, from its most transcendental to its most empirical sense, is repudiated. Naturalism has so far ripened to its own destruction. I believe, then, that the growing agnostic temper of the day, sounds the call to Christian teachers to make a strong dogmatic assertion of the supernatural side of Christianity and of the authority of its revelation, and therefore I repeat my first assertion, that the trend of Apologetics to-day should unquestionably be towards the stronger maintenance of the supernatural character of the origin, growth, life and future of Christianity.

To perhaps a large number of a certain class of minds in the Church, all this criticism and assertion may sound needless. To such it may merely be said that it springs from, and is based upon a large current school of Christian thought that is stronger *without* than within the Church.

To others it may all sound like the cry of an alarmist and an extremist. But I believe that it voices the growing conviction of many who have been through all the methods criticised; who, perhaps, have gone from a devout *Ecce Homo* almost to such a sweet reasonableness of Christianity, as to scarcely feel the need of the historic CHRIST, who have been carried by the flood of modern Apologetics—sentimental, philosophical and logical—to the arid desert of a bare naturalism. There are doubtless many who, having been enthusiasts with the most enthusiastic of the best forms of the modern schools, and having received great help from

them all and still acknowledging elements of truth in them, yet recognize their logical, and fear their actual outcome in that naturalism that is only "of the earth earthy."

Such should be ready to maintain, for the good of the Church and the world, the supernatural side of Christianity, to assert that it, as well as nature and man, is to be considered and understood *sub specie æternitatis*, rather than only *sub specie mundi*. The Church, the light of the dark ages, was Theo-centric, or, to coin a new word, ourano-centric. The extreme reaction of Protestantism has been anthropo-centric, almost lapsing to-day into the geo-centric tendency of the most enlightened modern heathen. This *earth* is all; and man only one of its natural products, and Christianity one of his necessary creations. From this centre none may rise heaven-ward. Induction can make no such mighty leap.

Of it, as of man, the poet's words are true:

" \* \* \* unless above himself he can  
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man."

But may there not be a supernatural power energizing and really completing the inductive process, as there may one descend from Heaven to help man above himself? "No man hath ascended up to Heaven but he that came down from Heaven, even the SON of man which is in Heaven." S. Paul adds that he ascended again in order "that he might *fulfil* all things." Eph. iv. 10.

These sacred words may serve to return answer to the question: What is to take the place of the current popular rationalistic Apologetics? It is a return to the age of faith in the supernatural—an assertion of the descent and ascent of a supernatural life, abiding still on earth and drawing all men to itself that it may lead them upwards to their true relations with the absolute supernatural. There is no longer danger of neglecting to consider man *sub specie mundi*, but there is great need of considering him *sub specie æternitatis*. It is, indeed, an age of light in regard to all natural terrestrial relations, but there is danger of its becoming an age of darkness in regard to all supernatural, eternal relations of man. What is needed in this darkness

of this age of light, is more of the light of the old ages of darkness—more of the true light of the world, which, like the sun, is not of, but is above, the earth.

In fact the one thing that Apologetics has to do to-day is to vindicate the SUPERNATURAL character of Christianity against all merely naturalistic explanations, whether of friends or foes.

Of course no such folly is meant as that of denying the work that has been done, and is now being done in this work by almost all the schools criticized. All that is desired is to call attention to the unconscious lapsing of many into the very gulf whence they would extricate others; to urge the necessity of all apologists while using these various arguments, not to do so as if Christianity depended upon their effectiveness; not to be satisfied with showing the *great probability of the truth* of Christianity; in a word, not to place the whole scope and power of evidences on the plane of *induction*, without putting *back* of induction the supernatural element which alone can raise it above the earth. This is the manifest fault of the otherwise admirable book of Prof. Fred G. Wright, *The Logic of Christian Evidences*, which modernizes Bishop Butler's argument in as much as it aims chiefly to show by the inductive method, that the most *probable inference* as to Christianity is its historical truth. The inductive method when used *alone* is necessarily atheistic: only when it is in its natural synthesis with the deductive method, as the organic correlation of the finite and the infinite, does it have its full and true worth. And that is where we must place it in all these various modern arguments for Christianity.

The supernatural is at the beginning, middle, and is to be at the close of the Christian dispensation. Christianity is supernatural—from above nature, or it is nothing. It is not, indeed, contrary to or out of connection with the natural, which is only another form of the manifestation of God. Christianity comes down into this manifestation, which we call nature, and is, as it were, married to it, or rather the two rush into union by virtue of their heaven-born kinship. Christian teachers of other ages may be

blamed for denying this connection of the two, for isolating the supernatural entirely from its connection with the natural; for maintaining the Divinity of CHRIST so as to virtually deny this humanity and the authority of Revelation, so as to abjure that of reason.

But the dangerous tendency of late, to which I call attention, has been just the opposite of this—to dwell upon the *natural* side of the relation—upon the perfect humanity of CHRIST, the human element in inspiration, the human characteristics of the Church, ministry and sacraments—in fact the natural and human side of every fact, doctrine and power of Christianity. *This side we by no means deny.* But we are reaping the penalty for some of our ancestors having denied it. That is, the vindication that it deserved has been super-triumphantly made. It has received such emphasis as to virtually annihilate the supernatural; or it has been so elevated that it has been able to explain, embrace, and contain the supernatural. This proper vindication of the natural, human element in Christianity has been so urged by Christian Apologists themselves, that Christianity no longer seems to be very widely separated from that unbelief which maintains that the contents of Revelation are merely the product of human reason, sentiment and imagination. The English Deists criticized Revelation as it was held isolated from and in antagonism with Reason and Nature.

The Christian Apologist of that day fairly and thoroughly routed them on their own ground, and established the harmony between them. To-day, however, Sceptics assail Christianity on the very *ground of this harmony*. Christianity, they assert, is perfectly natural, though confessedly the highest development hitherto reached by the Religious Spirit of man. Reason includes Revelation. The natural is the source of the supernatural. Hence, I affirm that we must resort to the very mode of tactics used by the Deistic opponents of Christianity, *i. e.*, set Revelation in antagonism with Reason—the supernatural with the natural—and thus *undo*, in a measure, the harmonizing work of previous Apologists; at least to so assert the supernatural side

of Christianity, that it cannot be swallowed up in the natural. As another\* has said:

The book wanted for the England of the Eighteenth Century was preëminently a Butler's *Analogy*, a treatise to establish the points of agreement in the Divine and human records. The book wanted by the England of our age has not yet appeared, but when it does appear it will be a treatise whose central aim and object will be the opposite of Butler's *Analogy*—the establishment of the proposition that the Divine record is not merely the latest flower of human thought, not merely the last effort of human speculation, but something which was in advance of the humanity of its own time and something which is still in advance of the humanity of every age.

Admirably and clearly as this need is realized and stated, and admirably and eloquently as he sets forth the "originality of the Character of CHRIST," he does not get beyond the *Ecce Homo* School of thought nor beyond the inductive method of evidences, which does not carry victory to Christian thought. Matthew Arnold and J. S. Mill have both recorded in the strongest terms their conviction that the portrait of JESUS was above its Jewish delineators, and Theodore Parker could eloquently exclaim: "It would have taken a JESUS to forge a JESUS," though he eliminated supernatural from the Gospel portrait.

The failure here, as in all the other able expositions of this argument from the character and work of CHRIST, is due to attributing it more than it conveys to opponents. It is due, let me say at once, to its underlying rationalistic presumption that by some method, logic can force reason to the reception of a Rational revelation; that in receiving a revelation, reason must be the arbiter (for which canon Bishop Butler is responsible); that Revelation cannot have an authority of its own; that the Creeds are not just as valid starting points for a science as the material world or the truths of Reason; that the supernatural can be ascended up unto from the natural by force of reasoning.

We are still to maintain the organic nexus of the Divine and human, of the supernatural and natural, as in the God-man, CHRIST JESUS. But we need to throw the emphasis on the supernatural side of the nexus, to assert *that* part of Christ which is from above the earth, beyond the dialectic-

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\* Geo. Matheson, in *The Contemporary Review*, November, 1878.



tic process of thought, or the utmost romanticizing of the fancy and feelings of man. The world is ready for this because nihilism as to being, Agnosticism as to knowledge, and pessimism as to eschatology, is the logical and rapidly becoming *actual* outcome of all mere rationalism and naturalism.\*

This abyss of absolute scepticism is the yawning grave that receives all purely naturalistic processes of enquiry—all so-called positivism in life, philosophy and religion.

Some years ago, in certain quarters, there was a famous cry of "Rationalism or Romanism." Let us substitute for the sectarian name of Romanism the more universal—"the Catholic Church," and we need not shrink from accepting the latter alternative. It is either Rationalism or "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth," which by its very constitution must always be the exponent of *Super-naturalism*. This, of course, is not to be done so as to exclude God from the *natural* world, *all* of whose forces and laws *are manifestations* of His ceaseless

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\* The following is worth quoting from *A Candid Examination of Theism*, by a writer calling himself "Physicus:"

Speaking of the evidences for the moral attributes of God, in the light of modern science, he says: "If it had been my lot to have lived in the last generation, I should certainly have rested in these 'Sublime Conceptions' as an argument supreme and irrefutable. . . . But now how changed! Never, in the history of man has so terrific a calamity befallen the race as that which all who look may now behold advancing as a deluge, black with destruction, resistless in might, uprooting our most cherished hopes, engulfing our most precious creed and burying our highest life in mindless desolation. . . . So far as I am individually concerned, the result of this analysis has been to show that, whether I regard the problem of Theism on the lower plane of strictly relative probability, or on the higher plane of purely formal considerations, it equally becomes my obvious duty to stifle all belief of the kind I conceive to be the noblest, and to discipline my intellect with regard to this matter into an attitude of the purest scepticism. And . . . I am not ashamed to confess that, with this virtual negation of God, the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness; and although from henceforth the precept 'work while it is day' will doubtless but gain an intensified force from the terribly intensified meaning of the words, 'the night cometh when no man can work,' yet when at times I think, as think I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine, and the lonely misery of existence as I now find it—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible."—Quoted by Prof. Trint, p. 354 of *Anti-Theistic Theories*.

activity—one *side* only, however, of His boundless energizing. God in ordinary nature, man, reason, history, but also God above and beyond all these, Who has for us men and for our salvation manifested OTHER than *these His natural energies* and habits. The inferential overwhelming probability of the truth of Christianity as derived from all the lines of argument on the inductive basis is very good as an *argumentum ad hominum* against those who decline anything but so-called “positive” knowledge. But it is an argument that does not reach God; and that cannot do more than recommend Christianity as the greatest perhaps, and that cannot save any from the equally open alternative of Agnosticism.

The starting point then must be found elsewhere—in the faith once delivered, in the Church of the living God, in the infallibility of its truth. The infallibility of the Church has often been maintained in most crude and formal ways, but this should not deter us from upholding its vital truth. The essential nature of Christianity as held by the Church, that must be our starting point.

Christianity should do what it is capable of doing—take not merely a defensive, but an offensive, aggressive attitude in its apologetics. It can assume that it is not on trial, but can marshal all its enemies to the bar of reason, history and dogma. For, as another says:

It has the prescriptive right of possession and favor; its roots are imbedded in the depths of the broad earth and wind round among its ribbed rocks, and its branches wave high, overshadowing and fruitful, so that the nations of the earth lodge beneath them. And infidelity has got to dislodge them before it can even begin to build its own temple on and with the ruins. Neither the end of the world or of Christianity seems to be very near yet; and there is a fair chance that the world may end first.

Christianity is *not* “as old as Creation,” and yet we may allow that it has its roots imbedded in the creation and all history since then. The supernatural has always been in connection with the natural—God in creation, nature, man and history. And it is the part of Natural Theology to maintain this and thus to give prophecy and possibility of a special supernatural revelation. It is to deny that the natural is ever *merely the natural*, and to claim for what is so called a *supernatural naturalism*.

This work of Philosophy and Natural Theology may then fairly be placed even *before* what we have said should be our starting point—the faith once delivered. It can maintain the reality of God and His activity, but it cannot reach up to the truth of Christianity. But it can maintain, as preparatory to Christianity, that God is *the other* and the *infinite side* of everything finite; that every finite thing is in indissoluble organic union with the infinite; that man is naturally and essentially related to the supernatural. It has been in this affirmation, that German thought has done so much in the warfare with the empirical philosophy that divorces God and nature. God in nature, God in man and God in history—the maintenance of these is no slight part of the apologetic work of the age and we cannot lightly part with the philosophy that maintains them. The best recent exposition of this is to be found in Dr. Caird's *Philosophy of Religion* and in Dr. Mulford's *Republic of God*. However much both of these works may be open to criticism as expositions of historical Christianity, they are unequalled as works on Natural Theology, and that, too, with the emphasis placed upon the supernatural side of so-called Natural Theology.

In fact neither of the authors mentioned intended to give an exposition of *historical* Christianity. The maintenance of the natural and indissoluble organic union of man with God as the basis for any religion whatever, and especially for Christianity, is evidently the scope of their design. The work they have done I conceive to be of great worth to this materialistic and agnostic day. They have restated the Eternal truths of man's natural Eternal relations. Natural Theology can vindicate the supernatural, the possibility of a special manifestation of it and our ability to receive such a manifestation. But it stops far short of Christianity. No Natural Theology can prove Christianity. No human philosophy can evolve it. But we can go to their utmost limits, without being compelled to go to their wildest extremes. We can, nay, we must, accept the valid deliverances of human thought on this theme. There is such a thing as the authority of Reason and such a faculty as *belief* in man. But there is also such a thing as the authori-

ty of Revelation, which the same power of belief accepts. Revelation may be *conformable* to the ideal Reason, though *above* it, and yet it does not derive its authority from it. *Belief* gives *it* authority as it gives authority to Reason. So we must ultimately and absolutely maintain the independent validity of Revelation. The faith once delivered then must be at the beginning, and not only at the end of our apologetic method. It is not the ideal CHRIST of philosophy that we believe in. It is the CHRIST of the Creeds. A CHRIST created by philosophy, or discovered by criticism is not the CHRIST needed by the world. We must be content and glad to affirm the CHRIST of the Gospels and the Creeds, which answer, yea, to every question: "Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?"

Even though the Supernatural be to many to-day the stone of stumbling, yet we cannot yield one iota of those supernatural facts, so briefly summarized in the Creeds.

Starting from and holding firmly this assured possession of the faith once delivered, we may then safely and triumphantly go on with all the lines of inductive "proofs of Christianity" so called, the historical evidences; the adaptation of Christianity to meet all the deeper wants—the CHRIST-want—of the individual and society, and to solve all the philosophical, moral and practical enigmas of life; that from its achievements; that from the greater probability of the Church's own account of its origin and life compared with any sceptical theory, and especially that from the person and character of CHRIST—not the *Ecce Homo*, but the *Ecce Deus Homo*, which convinced the Centurion and countless millions since his day. This "What think ye of Christ" is the greatest stone of stumbling that can be placed in the way of aggressive assaults of sceptical critics. It is unanswerable. And it is well that it is being made the foremost question, we ask the opponents of Christianity. What think ye of the CHRIST, not merely of eighteen centuries ago, but also of the Christ who has ever since been living on and energizing in his body of humiliation—the Church—JESUS CHRIST, the same to-day and forever as yesterday? This last is the line of argument so fully presented by Prebendary Row in his Bampton Lecture for 1877—being an

enlargement of the scope of that so ably urged by Dr. Ullmann, Dr. Bushnell, Dr. Newman Smythe and a host of able apologists.

The *Ecce Homo* can only be satisfactory when correlated with an *Ecce Deus*; just as Nature can only be understood by being held in its organic connection with the supernatural; the finite with its correlate of the infinite, and man with his correlate of God—the sum of all categories of Thought and Being.

Many qualifications, explanations, developement of statements, together with worthy notice of modern Christian apologists seems very desirable in such a paper as this. But I must be content with this reiteration of the evils and the remedy, in the bulk.

J. MACBRIDE STERRETT.

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#### A LOST LITURGICAL ENRICHMENT.

THE Joint Committee on Enrichment and Flexibility of the Prayer Book could not have overlooked the dislocations in the Communion Office, which have been endured by the Anglican branch of the Church for three hundred and thirty-one years. They are too well known and too sorely felt by all English speaking Liturgists. They have been too often mentioned and too bitterly deplored to have escaped the notice of the Committee. Probably they did not know how fully ripe the American Church is, and how gladly it is ready to adopt at once any real improvements. Even those which commend themselves merely to an enlightened reason the Committee dared to propose; and they found a ready response in the General Convention to any clear, though mere arguments from reason. Why a most reasonable return to a natural order, a restoration of a lost enrichment, a resetting of broken and deranged limbs, a resumption of what *grew* and was not

*made*, was not proposed by them, is capable possibly of explanation. They may have felt that they could rearrange and improve the lesser parts, or, rather, adjuncts of the Liturgy proper; but that the very Liturgy itself had better stand as it is; better in view of the practicability of the whole, not better for the Office viewed as to its greatest efficiency.

Although Liturgists have long known and felt what a halting and deranged thing our Communion Office is, as we now have it; probably the great body of our worshipers do not know what reckless liberties were taken with it by the reforming missionaries from the Continent, who attempted, between A.D. 1549 and A.D. 1552, to readjust the Church of England. Before that, we had the Liturgy as it had grown up. Afterwards we had, and yet retain, a re-adjusted growth. The foreign wise men of that time took the living thing to pieces, put its members into an order that suited their excited judgments, and made a jumble of the whole. The fact that the Liturgy has survived this treatment shows how hard it is to destroy a living thing. It suggests a new argument to those who think that Liturgies, being the forms of most central and highest Christian worship, were inspired by the HOLY GHOST in very primitive times, and have been since watched over by His brooding care. If they were inspired, they of course were in accord with natural order and reasonable arrangement. When thrown out of this order they yet lived through the Spirit, Who is to them, as to all good things, the LORD and Giver of Life.

Very little need be done, in order to come back to the old "use." Not a word nor a line need be added. To return to the figure, all that is wanted is to put back dislocated limbs into their relative positions, and then we shall have a whole as it grew.

Times we know have changed, while habits of faith and devotion have changed with them. It is not needful to disregard these points. The Prayer for the Church Militant might remain where we have it. We are not yet ready to deny the crowds, who do not stay for Communion, the privilege of making common offerings with the faithful; and we hope that the alms and oblations put on God's

Altar before their eyes, with prayer for their acceptance, may be beneficial even to souls that will not stay to feed on the Bread of Heaven. But, that prayer being over, and the dead march played on the organ, and the crowd gone forth into its own world, what is the natural feeling in the few souls that remain for the highest act of worship? Pity and sorrow are felt for those who go away; but it is quickly followed by a feeling of high anticipation and eager longing. The world is now outside. The doors are closed. The dead march ceases. The hush of holy quietude settles upon the kneeling worshipers. Whatever their several theological views may be, they have now one common tone of feeling. They, who regard the Holy Communion merely as a reminder to them of the efficient sacrifice, made in suffering but productive of propitiation, are uplifted in spirit; for they know and are assured that they are about to enter upon the most solemn act of their worship, and upon the enjoyment in their hearts and minds of the very highest and sweetest and deepest of the appointed means of grace. They believe and feel that their LORD is coming to them, to set anew on them the seal of His love. They also, who regard the whole office of the Communion as a veritable and real joining in that mystic but glorious worship, which, by the eternity of the LORD, brings into one the Institution, the Cross, the Ceaseless Presentation in Heaven, with the assured descent of the Life Giver; these are waiting for the coming Priest-victim Who is sure to be with them, and Whom, with Eucharistic love, they may adore, while they take from Him, through appointed human priests, the "meat indeed" and the "drink indeed."

Theological differences may turn the thoughts towards this or that conception of sacrifice; but they need not and should not sever the hearts that are alike and together, bowing in hushed and eager expectation.

Imagine the rush of cold, dark waters that chill these souls, when what they first hear is a little sermonette, upon that most elementary of all Christian duties, simple penitence. Surely penitence may here be taken for granted. These eager and longing faithful ones, looking for nearest approach of and to their Saviour, may be supposed to have

passed through penitence, and to be alive with faith. Hope is ruling and filling them now, soaring hope, sweet hope, loving hope, such as pilgrims feel in the dark, as the beams shine forth from the coming One, Who is to lead them homeward, be their companion by the way, and feed them as they go.

This incongruity of chilling exhortation to penitence, continues in our *new* Liturgic order, with the Lesser Exhortation. In it we are bidden to "draw near with faith and take this Holy Sacrament." What sacrament? There is none made ready. Only preparatory oblations have been offered. These are not in any complete sense the Sacrament. Are the eager souls of these worshipers now mocked, as before they were chilled? Again the dark, icy waters flow, while on bended knee the general Confession is made, the higher Absolution given, comfortable words are said as to sorrowing souls; and then what? Why, at last, "Lift up your hearts"! The service has done all it could to press the heart down; and now, having succeeded perhaps in plunging it into the depths, brings forth another incongruous call, as if it expected forsooth human souls to be elastic enough to spring up of themselves out of the deep.

Turn now to the old, at least natural, perhaps inspired, order of the Liturgy. The world is outside. The children are alone together in their FATHER's house. His table is spread. The feast is preparing. Their souls are quickening. Their LORD is nigh. His greatest gift is about to meet their sorest need. The general hush is broken. The little sermonette has not yet crossed the channel and the sea. The voice of the minister, the appointed priest, utters appropriate words. They quicken the ears and unbend the knees. "Lift up your hearts," he cries. Up springing, the eager worshipers respond: "We lift them up unto the LORD." "Let us give thanks to our LORD GOD." "It is meet and right so to do." "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O LORD, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God."

"Therefore with Angels and Archangels and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify Thy Holy Name;



evermore praising Thee and saying Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD  
God of Hosts, \* \* \* \* \*

Who are now together in the temple of the LORD. Surely more than the eye seeth; more than the mortals who bear the burden of the flesh; more than the mortal priest ministering at the Altar; even the messengers of the LORD, the guardians of the worshiping children, out of heaven looking on, coming amid, even entering into preparing and waiting souls!

Next, into the ears of the seen and unseen assembly, the priest's voice rises again, pitched at the same tone, proceeding in a congruous measure, "All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father. for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thine only SON, JESUS CHRIST, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption."

Here a shade passes across the lively souls of the worshipers. A sad and tender memory mingles with their joy. They begin to think what the source of their joy, the means of salvation, has cost. A heavenly chastening, not an earth-born chill, turns the flow of feeling into a deeper channel. The rock whence they were hewn, the hole of the pit whence they were digged, come to mind. Gently, though profoundly moved, their hearts suspend their exultation, and the whole person bows in awe. The service proceeds. The consecration is made. The real presence, to those who believe in it, is now an accomplished fact. On the Divine side, in God's eternity, the cross, that is in the human past, becomes present. Calvary and the furnished Christian altar are conjoined. Time and space, as they are nothing in fact to God, pass away before the faith of the worshipers. By faith they know and are assured that the heavenly feast is fully provided, and that what they are about to feed upon is the "true bread from Heaven." Possibly the theology of some worshipers may at this point lead them to indulge in some bad, mediæval metaphysics, and put the presence in a defined conception that is neither scientific nor philosophical. What if they do? What if they think they can separate substance from accident? It is their own affair. It need not disturb sympathy in those who hold the reality and rest in a glowing

mystery. Nor need it disturb those whose theology leads them to rest satisfied in the merely symbolic. The devotional conception is one in every case. All alike draw nearest to their LORD, the one High Priest, the true Sacrifice and Sacrificer. All alike are in joyful expectation of being fed by Him, through His mortal minister's hands, "to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls by the Body and Blood of CHRIST, as their bodies are by the bread and wine."

Still the suffering comes into view with the sacrifice. The real thing, expected with exultation, brings holy sadness into the soul. By easy transition, joyful hope has given place to chastened sorrow. The tone of worship begins to sink into a penitential key.

Now follows the great Oblation. The priest says not "I offer," as if he were doing all for the people, but "we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make." Priest and people join together—whether in symbol or reality need not be asked—in holding up before God in Heaven "the one Oblation \* \* once offered." Whether symbolically or really, all actually join in the heavenly transaction, wherein "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" is presenting and presented continually, as the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, before the very central manifest presence of the Father. Awe deepens, solemnity grows. We sinners stand in one communion together. Our LORD is with us, before His Father, and our Father. We behold in faith the true mediation. We are abashed, yet not driven away. Our sins are in mind, but the atonement is complete.

Priest and people continue their worship, before the LORD's Table, the "altar we have," and make the Invocation. Not worthy he, not worthy we to spread the feast upon the sacrifice. The LORD and Giver of Life only can make the food prepared to "nourish us up into everlasting life." We ask that the HOLY SPIRIT may join with Him, Who has ordered the feast, in making it to us real and life-giving. "O Merciful Father hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and HOLY SPIRIT, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and

wine; that we, receiving them according to Thy SON our Saviour JESUS CHRIST's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

The threefold, memorial sacrifice is completed. The consecration made, the oblation offered, the SPIRIT, the fire of God, the Life-giver has descended. Sorrow, awe, penitence rise on the surface of hope. All worshipers together join in the offering of self-sacrifice; and, beseeching its acceptance through JESUS CHRIST, thus bring the whole "Prayer of Consecration" to a close. First silence follows! Then a plaintive hymn! Now penitential forms of devotion are timely and appropriate. "Ye who do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins," would sound here on hearts prepared. The reminder of the solemn obligations of love, of charity, and of obedience is congruous with the time, the occasion, and the solemnized souls of the faithful worshipers. "Take this holy Sacrament to your comfort" means something, for the Sacrament is made ready. How much it means, each soul in the Divine presence may know, at least in part, for itself. None can know about another. Only God and ourselves know. He, not afar off, but nigh, and we bending humbly, penitently, but even yet hopefully before Him, the preparation for the partaking proceeds. The greater Confession may be now made by souls well prepared. The higher Absolution follows. The comfortable words are spoken. The Prayer of Humble Access is made in common. Now, at last, all that need be done is finished, and the feast proceeds through distribution to its final completion.

Can any order be made, or conceived, more natural, more reasonable, more congruous, more edifying! This order we had, until men from abroad came over to England, bent upon reforming her reformation. They were not liturgists. The liturgical spirit was quite absent from their minds. They were filled with one idea. A most important, useful, even essential idea! They were mad with a holy indignation at abuses which tended strongly to bury out of sight the duty of personal penitence. They were zealous for man's right to stand, person to person, in the very presence

of God. They were keenly alive to the duty of personal confession of sins to God Himself. Nor are they to be simply faulted for their zeal. They took part, through this very zeal, in a real reformation. Emancipation of God's own freedmen proceeded in both Church and State. Their works follow them. This age is a partaker of their labors. Every man that feels his natural godlikeness, commends their firm resistance to tyranny. Every Christian soul that recognizes its own personal relation to the God-man, clings tenaciously to his right to make his confession—whatever helps he may use—directly to his LORD, and acknowledges solemnly his duty to make that confession deep, and full, and real, and without reserve.

Naturally, these men from across the waters endeavored to establish in insular England the true doctrine of penitence. Its constant repetition would strengthen the doctrine. They were ready to put it in everywhere. They thought it could not be too often brought forward, nor anywhere be misplaced. The Liturgy was the place of places in which to make it prominent. They found it there already, but they thought they could improve upon the order. Hence that impertinent (in an etymological sense) little sermonette! Hence the dislocation of the living order of the proper Liturgy! Hence that daring tampering with a natural growth; perhaps that profane disruption of an inspired order!

We honour the zeal of these reformers from the continent. We sympathize with the earnest coöperation of the English reformers. We bear the hurt to our worship with patience, because we recognize the earnest desire which caused it. We do not, however, accord with the judgment upon which they acted. We think they defeated their own end. Penitence, even personal penitence, was checked rather than promoted. Putting the penitential service in the wrong place, operated against rather than for their own object.

For the very promotion of true and deep personal penitence, itself, therefore, let us have our Liturgy as it was at the first! For all the purposes of liturgical worship, let us by all means, have back our old, inestimably rich, and most practical, order!

The substance of this paper was presented before the last General Convention, in the form of an amendment to the report of the joint committee. It was not advocated on the floor, because I was compelled to be absent during the last two days of the session. It is now humbly submitted to the American Church. If our communicants generally become as well aware of the facts, as our liturgists have long been, their voices will certainly not be wanting, nor weak, in demanding a restoration of this lost enrichment. Not one, who informs himself upon the point, and ponders upon it, can fail to commend the common judgment of all liturgists, that we have been despoiled. The rigidity of constitutional law may keep us out of our devotional rights for more perhaps than one period of three years; but if a general demand and strong cry go up, perhaps even our most conservative General Convention may heed it. We are impoverished now. Our Communion Office has in itself the materials for perfect or at least nearly perfect liturgical worship. We need not ask for more than we have. We may ask, and the tone should be unmistakable, that we have back what strangers have taken from us; so that, in our highest form of worship, we may be permitted, from beginning to end, to worship in the SPIRIT.

B. FRANKLIN.

## THE PRIMITIVE LITURGIES.

*Liturgies, Eastern and Western.* By C. E. HAMMOND, M. A. A reprint of texts, either original or translated, of the most representative Liturgies of the Church. Oxford, 1878.

*The Liturgies, Original and Translated.* By REVS. DRS. NEALE and LITLEDALE. London, 1869.

*The Worship of the Old Covenant.* By REV. E. F. WILLIS, M. A. London, 1880.

*The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews.* A Commentary on the Epistle in its Relation to the Holy Eucharist. London: By JAS. E. FIELD. 1882.

ONE of the happy results of the great Church movement of the last fifty years is the revival of *Liturgical Studies*; opening one of the richest and most delightful fields of theological science; helping us better to understand and appreciate the priceless treasures of devotion in the Book of Common Prayer; kindling anew the sacred fires at our altars; giving us, in place of former barrenness and coldness, majesty and beauty in Divine service, visible in its temples and in every accessory of worship; and now, in this first centenary of the Church of the United States, bringing forth good fruit in the effort at "Liturgical Enrichment." We cannot be too grateful for the learned labors of recent authors, Neale, Littledale, Freeman, Blunt, Willis, Ford, who have brought forth things new and old, showing us that "the King's daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of wrought gold."

While this revival has been going on in the Church, the outside religious bodies have felt its influence. An increasing dissatisfaction with extemporaneous worship, with a steady drift to the Church, has awakened among them an earnest desire and demand for the construction of a formula of devotion for public worship. They are not likely to adopt the time-honored Book whose devotions are built up

on the truth of the Incarnation and of Sacramental Grace, but, in any effort to imitate its glory and beauty, they will see it is not easy to make a substitute; that a Liturgy is not an assortment of prayers made in a month, but a growth of time, and in putting their modern utterances beside the majestic strains of the Saints of old, they will realize how hard it is to "match cloth of frieze and cloth of gold."

That the worship of the Church was celebrated liturgically, from the first, is sufficiently evident. A book of ritual for the ceremonial of the Christian Altar was not incorporated in the New Testament, as was done by Moses in giving the Old Testament, in the book of Leviticus. The books of the New Testament were not given to the Church at first; not until she had been doing her work for generations. And all that time, from Pentecost on, the Church had been celebrating the Holy Eucharist, weekly or daily. Our LORD left it with the Apostles to set in order everything relating to public worship, after having instructed them for forty days after His Resurrection concerning the things of His Kingdom. As the New Testament books, Acts and Epistles speak of a Kingdom which had been at work for a long time, we are not to expect in them complete directions for worship; for the worship was well known to them to whom these writings were addressed. What we find there must be, in the main, incidental allusions to the existing order of things, with corrections of occasional irregularity. The Church's order was a *Divine* order, because set in operation by inspired Apostles. And, as has been well said, "What Apostles *did*, at first, in setting the Kingdom in order, was as *Divine* as what they *wrote* about it."

Now, referring to the Apostolic writings, we find some incidental allusions, all of which indicate Liturgical worship; none of them are inconsistent with such an use. Immediately after the descent of the HOLY GHOST (as we are told in the inspired Record), the disciples "continued in the Doctrine and in the Fellowship of the Apostles, and in the *Breaking of the Bread*, and in the *Prayers*;" that they came together on the first day of the week "*to Break Bread*." From this we infer that they celebrated the Holy

Eucharist on the LORD's Day; and that *the* Prayers used for that ministration were a Liturgy.

In Acts xiii., we are told that certain prophets and teachers at Antioch were ministering (λεειτουργούντων—Liturgizing) to the LORD. This implies probably that they were engaged in a frequent celebration of the Eucharist.

That the Liturgies were formulated before the New Testament was given, explains some of S. Paul's quotations, seemingly from the Scriptures, which are *not* found in the Old Testament, but which *are* found in the *Liturgies*. Thus, "*as it is written*" (says he), "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." (1 Cor., ii., 9.) We are commonly referred to Isa., lxi., 4, for the text here quoted by the Apostle; but the learned assure us that the words of the prophet are utterly different in sense and expression.

It was a tradition accepted by the Fathers of the Nicene age and immediately afterward, that certain Liturgies in use in their day had come down from the Apostles. Such a tradition was not so remote or obscure as to be uncertain. They had received it from those who lived in times of suffering and martyrdom; when Christians, in peril of their lives and dying for their faith, were not likely to be inventing fables to hand on to posterity.

The word LITURGY, from the Greek, λειτουργός, signifies, literally, a public service; applied to *secular* matters, it signified a civil or public function. It was adopted into ecclesiastical use to signify a public *religious* service. It is used in the Septuagint, applied to the priestly offices of the Law. It is found in the New Testament; as in S. Luke, i. 23, where it is said of Zacharias, the priest, whose lot it was to offer incense, that as soon as the days of his *ministration* (λεειτουργίας, his liturgizing) were accomplished, etc. So in Hebrews x. 11, it is said: "Every priest standeth daily ministering (λεειτουργῶν) and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices." So in Acts xiii., as we have seen, it is applied to the functions of the Christian ministry; the prophets and teachers at Antioch were *ministering* (λεειτουργούντων, liturgizing) unto the LORD. In Romans xv. 16, S. Paul



calls himself *a* (not *the*) minister (λεειτουργόν, a liturgist) of JESUS CHRIST for the Gentiles, ministering (ιερουρροῦντα, serving as a priest), that the oblation (προσφορά) of the Gentiles might be acceptable to God." And so in Hebrews viii. 2, CHRIST is called a High Priest, a Minister (λεειτουργός, a liturgist) of the Sanctuary. In this use of the word, observe that the ministration is performed, not to men, but toward God as the Object. The prophets and teachers ministered "*unto the Lord,*" and the ministry of CHRIST, our Liturgist in the Heavens, is, of course, unto God for men.

The Holy Eucharist, being the one specific service appointed by our LORD for the worship of His Church, the term LITURGY was appropriated to that service; and the *Office* for its celebration was also called the Liturgy. Popularly, this name is *now* given to *any* formulary of public worship; we often call the Prayer Book, the Liturgy of our Church. In the early ages of the Church there was no such confusion of names; the offices for rites and occasions other than the Holy Eucharist had their own distinctive titles, but *this* alone was called *the Liturgy*. We shall use the word now in its proper theological sense.

It must be accepted among scholars as certain that Liturgical offices existed in the early Church. If the quotations from the sacred Scriptures, found so often in the writings of the Fathers, prove *their* existence, it must be granted that the references to the language and ceremonies of the Liturgical offices, found in the same Fathers, prove the existence of such formularies. Liturgical quotations are less frequent and distinct in the works of the *very* early writers than in those of the Nicene age, and soon after; and the same is true of quotations from the *Scriptures*: but in the case of the Liturgies there was, in that early day, a reason for this reserve which did not obtain afterward. In the first three centuries the Christian Mysteries, as the Sacraments were called, were kept secret from the uninitiated; and every thing in regard to the Holy Eucharist especially was veiled. None but communicants, "the faithful," who had been instructed, were allowed to be present at celebrations; and whenever reference was made in public discourse to anything connected with the Sacrament, it

was done in a very indistinct way, accompanied with the remark, "The initiated will understand." This reticence was to preserve their holy rites, and especially the Eucharist, so liable to misrepresentation, from the profane and blasphemous scoffs of unbelievers; and to keep their sacred books from the persecutor. But as the world became Christian this reserve was not maintained; and the offices and usages of the Church were freely spoken of. The works of such writers as Cyril, Chrysostom, Augustine, and others, living so near the Nicene age, when Christianity became the religion of the Empire, contain such frequent allusions to the Liturgical Service, and such full quotations from it, that an ancient Liturgy, in form and substance, (it is said) might almost be constructed from them. In the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril, A. D. 350 (only twenty-five years after the Council of Nice), we have, among other accounts of the doctrines and rites of the Church, an explanation of *The Liturgy* in use at that time, and without doubt, from the first, in Jerusalem. S. Basil the Great enlarged and enriched the same Liturgy about the year 370, "following the customs of the Church," he says; and this revision, which bears his name, was adopted in the Eastern Church, and is still in use in the Greek and Russian Churches. Now, all these Fathers recognized the Liturgies they used to be a genuine and authentic inheritance transmitted from the Apostolic age. Doubtless *additions* were made to these Liturgies, by authority, in later periods: but, from the quotations and references found in the earlier writers, and from the known state of doctrine in given periods, the learned are able to distinguish between the portions which formed the originals and the additions of a later period. As there is no hint of the time when the Liturgies were introduced; as they have always borne Apostolic names; as they were used so universally in all the world, and are in such substantial agreement in form and substance, the conclusion seems irresistible that they date from the beginnings of the Church.

The argument for the Apostolic origin of the Liturgies, from the *historic* standpoint, is very convincing. Let us look at it. Our LORD instituted the Holy Eucharist

in the night in which He suffered, immediately after He, with his disciples, had partaken of, and fulfilled forever, the Passover. And He then commanded His Apostles that they should Do THIS (*Ποεῖτε*—be Doing This); that is *Offer This*, as He had just done, for His Memorial, until His coming again. This one only service was henceforth to be “the *Pure Offering*” (Mal. i., 11), the Mincha oblation of the Catholic Church, of which prophets had spoken; and in *its* worship it was to take the place of the *many* sacrifices which had been offered heretofore in the Jewish Church to show forth His Death. As the due celebration of this august and indispensable service was a matter of supreme importance in every view, doctrinally, as well as in point of order, and as its celebration was to begin *at once*, long before any book of the New Testament was written, a *Ritual* was needed to carry out our LORD’s directions. It was the last thing that could be left to the uncertainty of individual or extemporaneous effusions. If the old Sacrificial System needed a Ritual, no less did *this* glorious ministration. The Ritual of the *old* Sacrificial System, so minutely prescribed at Sinai, contained principles which were still applicable to this new service, by which His Church was henceforth to have access to God. Our LORD was with His Apostles for forty days after His Resurrection, “speaking to them of the things concerning the Kingdom of God,” that is, the Church. And, from the importance of this subject, we may conclude that the due ordering of that service upon a Ritual based upon the principles of the *old* Sacrificial System (“the pattern seen in the Mount” being also “the pattern of things in the Heavens”), must have been *one* of those things “concerning the Kingdom,” of which He spake to the Apostles during the great forty days.

The Apostles remained in Jerusalem, after the descent of the HOLY GHOST upon them, for ten or fifteen years. And we are certain that *S. James* was the first Bishop of Jerusalem. We know that the Holy Eucharist was celebrated from Pentecost on every LORD’s Day, and probably daily. *The Apostolic College must have used during that time,*

therefore, that *Liturgic Service* which had its common authority. That Liturgy used at Jerusalem, before the Apostles separated, finally, for their work among the nations, may be considered as the *norm* of the Liturgies.

It is significant that, as there were Four Rivers going out of Paradise, and as there are *Four Gospels* which carry the Waters of Life to the four quarters of the earth, so there are *Four Liturgies* which have come down from earliest times, and which must be regarded as the sources of all other Liturgies.\* They have always borne, respectively, the names of S. James, S. Mark, S. John and S. Peter, to whose authority their composition is attributed. These productions are so similar in their form and substance that, it would seem, they must have a common beginning; and yet are so *unlike* in their *expressions* as to indicate independent origin. Of these four, the Liturgy of S. James (sometimes called, after his See, the Liturgy of Jerusalem, or the Oriental Liturgy), may well be considered the *first* and *oldest*. The learned Blunt says, "it can be traced back for nearly a thousand years in an existing manuscript, and by satisfactory evidence of another kind, through the intervening ages to a date only a century removed from the Apostolic age itself." In manuscript antiquity it is not inferior to the New Testament itself. It bears some interesting internal evidences of its Apostolic origin in Jerusalem: as, *e. g.*, where, in giving the words of the Institution of the Eucharist, it says our LORD "delivered them unto us (ἡμῖν) His disciples and Apostles;" and in "the graphic description of the descent of the HOLY GHOST," "as if written by one or more who were present on these occasions;" and the allusion made in the Great Intercession to "the holy places glorified by the manifestation of Thy CHRIST;" and the

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\* The Clementine Liturgy, found in the Apostolic Constitutions, is unquestionably ancient; and is of value as an exemplar of the primitive mode of celebrating the Eucharist, and interesting as a specimen of Liturgic literature; but, as it was never *in actual use*, it is not reckoned among the originals of the Eucharistic offices.

special mention in the same of "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, *our* holy fathers."\*

To *this* Liturgy, as well as to the other three, *additions* were made by authority in later years, which, however, as we have said, are easily recognized by the times when usages, customs, or heresies to which they refer, are known to have arisen; as, *e. g.*, the calling of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Theotokos*, was an addition made after the Council of Chalcedon (451), which gave her this title. But the very early origin of its main portions is conclusively established from its traditional use in Palestine, "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary;" its agreement with Justin Martyr's celebrated account of Christian worship in Syria, given A. D. 150; and from the catechetical lectures of S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, A. D. 330, which describe it. We may safely conclude that at a period so near to the times of the persecutions and the assembling of the Nicene Council, no serious, certainly no corrupt, interpolations could have crept into a service so widely and constantly used, so often referred to, and so much revered.

Taking this Liturgy of S. James, which comes to us from Jerusalem, the fountain head of Christianity, as the *Original* Liturgy, it is entitled to the highest authority as a pattern of that true worship which is according to the mind of CHRIST. As such it will be interesting to examine its parts, its structure, and its language.

Before doing so, however, let us briefly refer to the other three principal Liturgies. That which bears the name of *S. Mark* originated at Alexandria, one of the chief centres of early Christianity, of which See this Evangelist was the first Bishop, and to which, as such Bishop, he must have given the form for administering the Holy Eucharist. It was used in the provinces of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

The Liturgy of *S. John* originated at Ephesus, that Apostle's own great See, and was used in the provinces of Asia

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\* There is an interesting tradition of the Church of Jerusalem, that, on the third day after the descent of the HOLY GHOST, S. James celebrated according to this same Liturgy which bears his name; and that he declared he had received it of the Lord.

Minor. Rearranged by S. Basil the Great, and also by S. Chrysostom, it is still the Liturgy of the entire Greek and Russian Church.

The Liturgy of *S. Peter* was used in Roman provinces and in Western Africa.

These four, the same in substance and form, though not in language and arrangement, are recognized to be of Apostolic institution, and every subsequent and minor Liturgy may be referred to one of them as its norm.

Let us now look at the structure of this Liturgy of *S. James*, the most ancient of the original four.

It has *two* chief divisions, the *Pro-Anaphora* and the *Anaphora*. The *Pro-Anaphora* extends to the *Sursum Corda*; the *Anaphora* is the remainder of the office.

The *Pro-Anaphora* is divided into two parts: (1) the service for the *Catechumens*; (2) the service for the *Faithful*.

The *Anaphora* is the Canon proper, consisting of the *great Eucharistic Prayer*—the Institution, the Oblation, the Invocation, the Great Intercession, and the Communion.

The *Pro-Anaphora* (or *Ante-Communion*, if we may apply a modern word) begins with the priest's prayer, in the prothesis or sacristy, for himself. The *Introit* follows, called "the Little Entrance," or the bringing in of the Gospel, "a ceremony of considerable pomp." The Hymn of the Trisagion is sung; lessons from the Old and New Testaments follow; a bidding prayer or general supplication is said; the *Catechumens* are dismissed, and none but the faithful are allowed to remain.

"*The Great Entrance*," that is, "the carrying of the elements from the Prothesis to the Altar," a most imposing ceremony, "follows." The Creed is said; the kiss of peace given; a kind of Universal Litany, or prayer for all, is said. The priest again prays at length for himself, that he and his fellow servants may be worthy and accepted.

The *Anaphora* begins next, with the *Sursum Corda* and responses, as in every liturgic office. The *Sanctus* (with a longer preface than ours) is sung:

Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD of Sabbath:  
 Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory.  
 Hosanna in the highest: Blessed is He  
 That cometh in the name of the Lord:  
 Hosanna in the highest."

The *Commemoration of INSTITUTION* is then made, in which we read that our LORD,

Taking bread \* \* \* and looking up to Heaven, and shewing it to Thee, His GOD and Father, He gave thanks, and hallowed and brake, and gave to us, *His Apostles* and disciples, saying, etc., the "us" implying "the authorship of one who was present.

THE OBLATION comes next, in which the priest says, "We offer to Thee this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice," etc.

THE INVOCATION follows immediately, in which the priest prays:

Have mercy on us, O GOD, and send upon us and upon these proposed gifts Thy most HOLY GHOST, that, coming upon them with His Holy, Good and Glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread *the Holy Body of Thy Christ*, and this cup *the Precious Blood of Thy Christ*.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION, or the PLEADING of the sacrifice for the living and the faithful departed, is made, at length. That which in our Canon is thus briefly but comprehensively expressed, "that we and *all Thy whole Church* may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion."

A prayer of humble access for the priest and the people is said, and then the priest, elevating the Holy Gifts, says:

*Holy Things for Holy Persons.*

The people answer:

*One Holy, One LORD, JESUS CHRIST*, in the glory of GOD the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever.

The priest then makes "the union of the most holy Body and precious Blood of our LORD and GOD, and Saviour JESUS CHRIST," saying these and other words.

While he breaks, the priest repeats certain psalms;—and communicates.

Then being ready to communicate the people, the priest says:

Blessed be the name of the LORD our GOD forever.

**The Deacon:**

With the fear of God, and faith, and love, draw near.

**The people:**

Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord. The priest then administers, in both kinds, to the people, saying to each, *The Holy Body*; and giving the chalice, "*The precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour—*"

With a brief prayer of thanks to CHRIST, "that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood, for the remission of Sins and Eternal Life;" and to be kept without condemnation, etc., the faithful are dismissed.

The substantial agreement of these four Liturgies is remarkable. They all preserve the essential words, "*This is My Body; This is My Blood.*" The "Great Intercession" precedes the Consecration in S. Mark's Liturgy; and there is no *Invocation* in S. Peter's Liturgy.

It will be noted that the language of the *Invocation* in three of these liturgies seems to attribute the *Consecration* of the elements to the descent of the HOLY GHOST upon them; "that He may hallow and make this bread the Body of Thy CHRIST, and this Cup the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST." The Eastern Church has long maintained this teaching. The Western Church, having no *Invocation*, asserts that the Consecration is effected by CHRIST's words, repeated by the priest; those words having power, as Chrysostom somewhere says, to renew that wonder in all ages of the world. It is asserted by learned liturgists, I know not on what evidence, that the Roman Liturgy once contained the *Invocation*. When or how it was lost is not explained. That Liturgy is still in use in the Roman obedience. It seems incredible that a distinctive part of the Service (and especially one deemed necessary to a valid consecration, or to its completeness, even), could have been dropped, in the face of Christendom, either before or after the Nicene age, without notice, or a remonstrance at such a presumptuous mutilation of the essential Service of the Church.

**Blunt says:**

It is difficult to explain the apparent difference between the teachings of the Eastern and Western Church on such an important matter. The most



plausible solution is, that the prayer for the descent of the HOLY GHOST looks to the gracious Presence to prepare the communicants to receive the Sacrament.

To the same effect was the answer of the Orthodox Greeks at the Council of Florence, who, admitting that the Consecration was effected by the Words of Institution, explained the prayer of Invocation to ask "that what had been already consecrated by those Words, might be for the Salvation of those that receive." The Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark do *include the communicants* in the gracious purpose for which the Spirit shall descend; but they also add to make the elements the Body and Blood of CHRIST. So our own Liturgy says:

To bless and sanctify with Thy Word and HOLY SPIRIT these Thy Gifts of bread and wine; *that we receiving them, etc., may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.*

May we suppose that, as the HOLY SPIRIT descended upon our LORD to consecrate Him fully to become to us our Prophet, Priest and King, so He descends on these Holy Gifts, that *in us* the SPIRIT which quickeneth (John vi., 63) may make the Body and Blood of CHRIST to be the effectual power of Resurrection to Eternal Life?

It has been suggested that the Illapse of the SPIRIT upon the elements, for which the Invocation prays, is "a fulfilment or Heavenly counterpart of the Descent of Fire on the typical Sacrifices of old, for thus the Sacrifice is enfolded within the Heavenly Sphere." "A true idea of Sacrifice," Mr. Hunter tells us, "involves three distinct actions, following in their natural and necessary order: (1) The preparation of the Victim; (2) The Offering; (3) GOD'S *Answer by Fire*. All these essential parts are found in the early Liturgies, viz.: (1) In the Consecration, the preparation of the Victim; (2) In the Oblation, the Offering; (3) In the *Invocation*, God *Answering by Fire*."

It would seem that the Consecration should come first before the Oblation. For the OBLATION of the HOLY GIFTS is a part of the Eucharistic Action scarcely less *essential* than the consecration of the elements. Our LORD said: \* (Ποιεῖτε—*Do This; i. e., Offer This*. He offered Himself,

\* Ποιεῖτε—Do This, is used *sacrificially* some seventy times, it is said, in the Septuagint.

first, "under the form of bread and wine," at the Institution. This is My Body, which *is* given, *διδόμενον*, which is *being* given. This is My Blood, which *is* shed, *ἐκχυνόμενον*, which is *being* shed; which are *now* given and shed; not which *shall be*.\*) The present participle, which is the intense way of expressing time present, is used in all four accounts of the Institution, and in the Liturgies. To "Do This," as CHRIST did it, is, then, to OFFER His Body and Blood sacramentally; which is not *repeating*, but re-presenting His Sacrifice.

It is true that the HOLY GHOST, Who, by His operation effected the Incarnation in the beginning, is the Agent of Consecration; but we can suppose that He effects the change in the elements, when the words of CHRIST are duly spoken over them, although there be no Invocation. When CHRIST instituted the Sacrament, as the Evangelists and Liturgies scrupulously recite, "He took bread; He gave thanks (Eucharistized); He blest; He brake; and gave to them, saying, *This is My Body; this is My Blood; this Do for My Memorial.*" We are not told there was any Invocation of the Spirit then. The nucleus of the Christian Liturgy, in all times and forms, must be found in these words and actions of our LORD at the Institution. For a priest to do and say as *He* did and said, is to celebrate the Eucharist. The essential words, therefore, to make a valid Sacrament are these which our LORD used; and when they are duly pronounced, it would seem the elements become the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

The Anglican Church teaches, it is certain, that the Consecration is effected by the words and actions of the Institution, which she enjoins her priests to observe strictly; for she has *no Invocation* in her Liturgy.

We may well be inclined to accept this view; since we must otherwise suppose the whole Western Church (having no Invocation) for twelve centuries, was without a valid Eucharist; and that the English Church, in all its branches, is still in that unfortunate condition.

The difficulty under consideration is obviated in that

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\* So in S. James's Liturgy it is translated, "in the night He was offered, yea, offered Himself."

most perfect Liturgy of the Reformation, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., which places the Invocation immediately *before the Words of Institution*; and so harmonizes East and West.

The Liturgies being so ancient and Apostolic in origin, and in such constant and universal use, must be ranked among the *monuments* and *muniments* of Christianity.

One of the infallible marks of certainty for any fact is, that an outward observance be begun at the time, and continued uninterruptedly in memory thereof. Infidelity has not been able to break the famous argument of "Law's Short and Easy Methods with the Deists." The *Passover*, begun and continuously celebrated from the departure of Israel out of Egypt as related by Moses, was one of the "infallible proofs" of the reality of the event itself. In the Christian system, the Eucharist takes the place of the Passover in the old dispensation, and is a perpetual witness to the fact of the death and resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, and a constant *prophecy* of His second advent. The solemn Eucharistic action which CHRIST ordained for His Memorial forever, begun at the time *when* and on the spot *where* these great events occurred, has been celebrated weekly, on His resurrection day, ever since the first Easter; and its observance has extended, and is extending, from nation to nation, until we realize that Malachi's prophecy must soon come true, that "from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same,—and in every place, the PURE OFFERING shall be made in His name."

Now, the Liturgies show that this Divine memorial was not left to extemporaneous uncertainty and individual vagaries, but was celebrated with the utmost care and veneration and agreement; the Church thus witnessing to the *certainty* of those things which are most surely believed amongst us.

Thus rightly and *liturgically* celebrated, the Holy Eucharist announces *what the faith is*, and *preserves* it.

The Eucharist was celebrated weekly or daily for one generation, perhaps for two, before any Gospel was written; and for two or three centuries before the Church declared her Canon of Holy Writ. In that time the Euchar-

istic Liturgies, by their continual and impressive celebrations, must have been a great, if not the principal, *teaching* agency in the Church. As the Passover, in the Mosaic economy, was a standing witness, so the Eucharist has always been, and is now, *evidential* in the highest degree; and so also the service, with which it is celebrated, is an immovable testimony to the Truth.

Mark how manifold is its witness. It includes all the articles of the Creed, and makes an *application* of them in the most affecting way to every believing soul. The mystery of CHRIST's Incarnation, His atoning Passion and Sacrifice, His mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension, His Mediatorship and intercession, and His second coming, with all their practical consequences, are announced—the divinity of CHRIST, the unity and tri-unity of God are declared, every time the Eucharist is duly celebrated. If the Creeds were lost, and the New Testament besides, everything we need to know or to do for our salvation could be gathered from the due celebration of the Sacraments.

What a monument of the Faith CHRIST provided when He appointed not only that the Gospel should be preached, and recorded in a *Book*, but that it should be *represented* and acted out, so to say; *announced* to the *eye* and to the *ear* together, to the end of the world, as a perpetual testimony that the CHRIST, the Incarnate SON of GOD, has come into the world, atoned for our sins, is our Mediator at God's right hand, and, as He said, will come again. Do we sufficiently value this irrefutable evidence in our teaching; and do we sufficiently value the immense importance of the unceasing and *frequent* showing forth—(“*καταγγέλλετε*, ye *announce*”)—before the world of the Death of CHRIST? Do we not overrate our *preaching*, in comparison of this announcement? Let the Eucharist tell its story from our Altars, on every LORD's day, and, if it may be, daily; and let us point out to men its deep significance.

The Liturgies are of the utmost value to the Faith. They and the Scriptures should go together; and when they shall do so, many of our differences will be settled. Let us note some of the things which may be surely collected from the Liturgies: not from them alone, but from them as *interpre-*

ters of the Scriptures, and as co-witnesses with the Fathers of the first four centuries.

1. The Liturgies teach the indispensable *necessity*, and the *true object* of PUBLIC WORSHIP; of our assembling together—that it is not merely, as many imagine, to *get* something, to hear preaching; but to *give* something; and chiefly, to give the LORD the glory due unto His name; to *announce* to the world, visibly; to *plead* before GOD for ourselves, the whole Church, and for the world; and to *apply* to ourselves, individually and collectively, the tremendous Sacrifice of the Eternal SON of GOD. Though CHRIST has, indeed, “tasted death for every man,” yet each one must come to GOD in the appointed way, to secure and appropriate the benefits of that sacrifice to himself; he must come individually, and also as a part of the Corporate Body of CHRIST. Ever since the Fall, it has been necessary for man, being a sinner and alienated from GOD, to come to Him in a definite way: that is, he must come in the faith of the Redeemer, *showing forth and pleading His Great Sacrifice*. Before CHRIST came, men had access to GOD only by the appointed bloody sacrifices: *now* we have access by an unbloody sacrifice, appointed to take their place, in which we show forth and plead the Death of CHRIST.

In the Divine order, CHRIST, our High Priest, must yet *present* His Sacrifice continually at the Heavenly Altar, and *plead* it for us, and *apply* it to us; and we, His people who would have the benefit of *His Mediation*, must *join with Him* in perpetually presenting that Sacrifice before GOD, a continuous memorial. Every one who calls himself a Christian should *take part* in that corporate action of the Church on earth, by which she, in union with her Divine Head, re-presents and pleads, and (by communion) applies to each one the Sacrifice of Christ. And *therein* also is the right way to *offer praise and thanks* to GOD; we Eucharistize Him in and by showing forth the love and glory of GOD in this supreme manifestation of it.

These Liturgies of the early Church show that *the object* of every Christian assembling together was “to break bread;” to celebrate that One Service which CHRIST commanded; in what way they had access to GOD—namely, by

re-presenting, pleading and applying CHRIST's Sacrifice, and *therewith* giving God praise and thanksgiving. How *such* an object dwarfs that idea of going to Church which is expressed, "to hear the minister preach!" In this Mystery, and not by the prophetic function, we are able to draw near to God, and to unite ourselves to the Mediatorial Intercessions of our great High Priest in the Heavens; and we *are* united to CHRIST, so that "He dwelleth in us and we in Him." The man of to-day who "forsakes the assembling together" because he is tired of preaching, and can as well read his Bible and a sermon and pray *at home*, cannot give such an excuse, if he is well instructed in *this* necessity and object of public worship.

2. The Primitive Liturgies are the evidence of the faith of the early Church in *the Real Presence* of Christ in the Sacrament.

The words of Institution, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, of themselves teach it, of course. CHRIST must be present where His Body and Blood are present. And these words the Liturgies most scrupulously *retain* and repeat in every Eucharist; and after the utterance of each formula the people responded, *Amen*; and the deacon answered, "*We believe and confess.*" At the mixture of the Holy Gifts, the priest said, "The union of the most holy *Body* and precious *Blood* of our LORD and GOD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. After the Consecration, just before the Communion, as we have before noticed, the priest exclaimed, elevating the Gifts, "*Holy Things for holy persons!*" and the people answered, "*One Holy, One LORD JESUS CHRIST, in the glory of God the Father, to Whom be glory for ever and ever.*" At the *administration*, as the priest took up the Sacrament, the deacon said, "With the fear of GOD, and faith, and love, draw near;" and the people answered, "*Blessed be He that cometh in the Name of the LORD.*" To each, as he gave the Sacrament, the priest said, "*The Body of CHRIST; The Blood of CHRIST.*"

In all this there is no refinement; no attempted explanation of the Mystery, by transubstantiation, or by a figurative Presence; but we have the simple, plain truth of CHRIST's own words reverently retained.

3. The Primitive Liturgies teach that the Holy Eucharist is a SACRIFICE.

Indeed, it is so generally called by this title that it would be too much to quote all the passages. In his prayer for acceptance the priest commemorates the Divine mercy and goodness which has counted him worthy "to stand, O LORD, before Thy holy Altar, and to offer to Thee the fearful and unbloody SACRIFICE for our sins and for the ignorances of the people;" "turn not back us sinners that *take hold of Thee* in the fearful and *unbloody Sacrifice*." "Grant us, O LORD, with all fear and with a good conscience, to set before Thee this spiritual and unbloody *Sacrifice*."

Again, at the Prayer of the Veil, when the Holy Mysteries are exposed to view, the priest says:

We render thanks to Thee, LORD our God, for that Thou hast given us boldness to the entrance in of Thy Holy Places, the new and living way which Thou hast consecrated for us through the Veil of the Flesh of Thy Christ. We, therefore, to whom it hath been vouchsafed to enter into the place of the Tabernacle of Thy Glory, and to be within the Veil, and to behold the holy of holies, fall down before Thy goodness. Master, have mercy upon us; since we are full of fear and dread when about to stand before Thy holy Altar, and to offer *this fearful and unbloody Sacrifice for our sins and for the ignorance of the people*. Send forth, O God, Thy good grace, and hallow our souls and bodies and spirits, and change our disposition to piety, that in a pure conscience, we may present to Thee the mercy of peace, the Sacrifice of praise.

And finally, in the Oblation, immediately after the words of Institution, where we expect to find distinct statement:

We OFFER to Thee, O LORD, *this tremendous and unbloody SACRIFICE*; beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, etc. For Thy people and Thy Church supplicate Thee."

We may add that the Greek words for *Sacrifice*, *θυσία*; for *Altar*, *θυσιαστήριον*;<sup>\*</sup> and for Priest † *ιερεὺς*, are used throughout; and the Service itself is called the "hierurgy."

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<sup>\*</sup>"For more than 300 years after the Institution of the Sacrament, the *Altar* is but once called a *Table*, in the genuine remains of Christian writers."—Smith's Dict. Christ. Antiq.

† If the Eucharist is a *Sacrifice*, it requires an *Altar*, on which to offer it; and a *Priest* to offer it thereon. It matters not by what name, (*ἱερεὺς* *ἱερεὺς* or *ιερεὺς*) Christian ministers are called. Their *work* determines their character. A priest is one who is appointed to *offer* gifts and sacri-

There is not the least reason for supposing there have been any changes in the Liturgies *in this regard*, since the same words, or their *Latin* equivalents, are generally used by Ante-Nicene writers, as Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and others.

4. The Primitive Liturgies include *Prayers for the faithful departed*. There is not an ancient Liturgy to be found in which such a commemoration is omitted. They appear in great variety of phraseology, and with a tenderness and beauty of expression which show how deeply such memorials of the sainted dead appealed to the pious and devout. We give one or two quotations out of many that might be adduced:

Remember, LORD, the GOD of the spirits and all flesh, the orthodox whom we have commemorated, from righteous Abel even unto this day. *Give them Rest there*, in the land of the living, in Thy Kingdom, in the delight of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers, whence sorrow, grief and lamentation are banished away.

The above is found in S. James's Liturgy, in the Prayer of the *Great Intercession*, after the Oblation, when the Sacrifice is *pleaded*.

The following from S. Mark's Liturgy is very beautiful, and contains the verse which S. Paul is thought to have quoted in 1 Cor. ix. 2:

Give Rest to the souls of our fathers and brethren that have heretofore slept in the faith of CHRIST. O LORD, our GOD, remember our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, holy and just persons, every spirit that has departed in the faith of CHRIST, and those to-day whom we keep in memory. And to the spirits of all these give Rest in the Tabernacles of thy Saints, vouchsafing to them in Thy Kingdom the good things of Thy promise which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man the things which Thou hast prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thy holy Name.

lices.—Heb. . . . S. Paul says that with the introduction of the New Covenant, the Priesthood was (not abolished, but) "*changed*." (Heb. vii. 12); i. e., from the Aaronic to the Apostolic. The name anciently applied to the priesthood implied *dignity*. The Hebrew (Cohen) signifies *prince* as well as priest. The term *Elder*, like our Senator, signified dignity. "*Elders*" were *princes*. (Num. 22:4 with 31:8.) The priesthood belonged, at first, to the eldest son by right; but when that office was transferred from a lineal succession to the Apostolic one of ordination, the title "*Elder*" went with it, and is found in the early writings of Christianity along with the title priest.



There is not the slightest evidence for thinking that prayers for the faithful departed are an addition or interpolation in these Liturgies. They were common in Jewish devotions in our LORD's time; early Christian writers speak of them with approval as customary among the faithful. If they had ever been regarded as unauthorized, they could not have crept into general use so early, without remonstrance. The inference is, they must have had Apostolic authority.

5. The Primitive Liturgies prove with what reverence and ceremonial the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. The profound humility and veneration with which It was approached, as we see by the prayer of humble access and the priest's prayer of preparation and for acceptance, are exceedingly impressive. Indeed it is much to be wished that some of these last devotions had enriched our own liturgy, where with the hearts of ourselves might be solemnized as we approach this glorious and awful ministration. Their veneration is seen in the names with which the Sacrament is mentioned: "the tremendous Mysteries;" "this our holy, bloodless, and acceptable Sacrifice;" "these holy, Divine and spotless Mysteries." The expressions of their adoration reached a majesty, intensity, fullness, and exaltation which we can hardly describe.

6. The Primitive Liturgies are of special value in our *controversies*. As against *sectarians* they are evidence of the *Apostolic origin* of liturgical worship; of the three orders of the ministry; of sacramental grace; of the doctrine of the Eucharist; of the ceremonial of the Altar; and of many incidental matters on which they are not at one with the early Church and with us.

And they are quite as valuable in our contention with *Rome*. The Liturgies are evidence that there was no recognition of the Bishop of Rome as the Supreme and Infallible Pope of the Catholic Church. He is not specially referred to in any one of them, except in the Roman, where he, as Bishop and Patriarch, would, of course, find mention. Supposing that the present pretensions of the Pope of Rome *were* then recognized, that Rome was "the Mother and Mistress of all Churches," and the Bishop

of Rome was *the* Vicar of CHRIST, Supreme Pontiff, Visible Head and Ruler, Infallible Judge, the Fountain of all orders and mission and jurisdiction in the Church of GOD: supposing all these things were then recognized, we say, the absence of any mention of *him*, and of the See of Rome in these Liturgies is simply unaccountable. That in them the emperor, "the reigning city," etc., should be remembered specially, without any mention of the one who, under the Roman theory, is the most important personage on earth, is quite inexplicable. In *S. Mark's* Liturgy we read:

Remember, O LORD, *the Holy City of Christ* our GOD, and *the reigning city*, and this our city, and every city, and those that dwell in it in the orthodox faith of CHRIST, their peace and safety.

Note here that *Jerusalem* is called, what Rome now affects to be, "the Holy City," and is put *first*, before "the reigning city" (Rome), the imperial seat. And there is no reference to the Bishop of Rome, as there naturally would be (on the Papal theory), in connection with the mention of the Imperial City.

So in *S. James's* Liturgy, in the Oblation, we read:

We offer (these Holy Gifts) to Thee, O Lord, for the holy places which Thou hast glorified by the Divine Manifestation of Thy CHRIST, and by the advent of thy all HOLY SPIRIT; especially for the glorious *Zion, THE MOTHER OF ALL CHURCHES*; and for Thy Holy Catholic Church throughout the world."

The whole Church remembered, the Church of Jerusalem, particularly, as "*the Mother of all Churches*," and no special mention of Rome at all, nor of its Pope! Think what an argument Rome would make of it, if any ancient liturgy had called *her* Church, what she affects to be, "the Mother of all Churches."

So the Liturgies bear incidental and powerful testimony to the teaching of the Eastern Church, and to our own position, that the Pope of Rome is not the Supreme and Infallible Ruler and Judge of the Catholic Church; which is indeed the pivotal question in the Roman controversy.

While the Primitive Liturgies have such uniform suffrages for the faithful departed, asking for them rest, light, refreshment, perfection, etc., there is no allusion to

"the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, etc;" and we could have no more effectual refutation of Rome's teaching in this regard, than to restore to our own Canon, in its proper place, the precise mention of the faithful dead which was in the Primitive Liturgies from the beginning.

Comparing the substance and the order of these ancient Liturgies with our own Eucharistic office, we find that there is a substantial agreement. In essentials ours is the same. In fact there is the same sequence in our Office as in that of S. James, the Liturgy of Jerusalem, the Mother of Churches, the Foundation Head of Christianity. The simple and severe majesty of our Service suits our Anglo-Saxon character, perhaps; but we might be well pleased, too, if we had more of the splendor and beauty of the others to enrich our own. At any rate, we have cause to thank God at every Eucharist that He has given us an Office so majestic and so beautiful, and in such accord with the first Liturgy of the Christian Church.

N. BARROWS.

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#### RECENT LITERATURE.

*Political Economy.* By ARTHUR LAPHAM PERRY, LL. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This work has received wide and favorable notice from the press. In some important respects it is of larger range and more fully meets vital and practical questions than any similar book of American origin. As a matter of necessity much of the staple of thought, on the usual topics included under the head of Political Economy, is not new or original, yet it is presented frequently with fresh illustrations and in new relations. The author shows complete mastery of the subject, and the first chapter of the book, giving a history of the science, is proof that his study has been earnest and broad.

He certainly has somewhat clarified the subject and has given more point and incisiveness to his own treatment by

dropping some of the old nomenclature, and by a precise definition of terms employed by himself. He has eschewed the vague and shifting term "wealth," and has substituted "value" as the true subject of the science. This enlarges his field and gives more philosophic completeness to his investigation.

A book like this is not susceptible of analysis within the compass of a review notice, we must therefore content ourselves with a simple expression of our admiration of its character. We regard it as a compendious and satisfactory presentation of the subject. From our own standpoint we might feel disposed to question some of his views, and to moot some of his logic in his treatment of tariff. But it is not our province, neither is this the place to controvert opinions. The Professor is consistent with himself and, like the majority of collegiate teachers on this subject, is a theoretical free-trader. Were he engaged in practical business relations he might possibly look through another sort of lens. But, this aside, his book is able and will doubtless take rank with the best, either foreign or domestic, on the subject.

*Kadesh-Barnea. Its importance and probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt for it.* By H. CLAY TRUMBLL, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

All students of the Bible will be interested in this thrilling and scholarly book. But it will be of more significant value to two classes, viz: 1st. To those who, by reason of religious associations, attach great importance to the positive identification of sites made memorable in the history of God's ancient people, and in the life of Christ. 2d. To those who find in the certain settlement of such localities an evidential value in establishing the veracity of the Bible record, and a weapon of defense against the foes of religion.

The Site of Kadesh-Barnea had, until the publication of this book, been a disputed point among the explorers and geographers of Palestine. All that curiosity and antiquarian zeal had hitherto achieved was to propose that there seemed a probable settlement of the question, but no certainty was claimed or established. Dr. Edward Robinson, after long and intelligent research, fixed upon Ayin el Way-

beh as the veritable Kadesh, and Dean Stanley, with his versatility and fund of historical and geographical knowledge, could only see in Petra the complete identification.

The honor of the present solution must, in justice, be divided between Dr. Trumbull and the Rev. John Rowland. The latter, an English clergyman, about forty years ago, entering the desert from the north, discovered at the base of a cliff a stream of water called Ayn Quadees, the equivalent in Arabic of the Hebrew Kadesh. After some delay Mr. Rowland announced his discovery, but in the light of Dr. Robinson as authority, he was considered a dreamer, and his suggestions summarily dismissed. When Dr. Trumbull was at Nakhl, in the desert North of Sinai, he conceived the design of following the land marks laid down by Mr. Rowland and endeavoring to identify the cliff and stream called Ayn Quadees. The description of this exploring divergence is what constitutes the *hunt*, and the final success is the culminating point and value of the entire book. The major part of the volume is devoted to exploding opposing theories and in preparing the way for the indisputable proof that Mr. Rowland alone was right. We think that Dr. Trumbull, by his learning and research, has done a noble work, and has thereby established imperishable honor for Mr. Rowland himself.

The book itself comports with the grand solution it records. It is a specially handsome octavo, of between four and five hundred pages, and well equipped with indexes, authorities and maps, so as to give facility and comfort to the reader. American scholarship is well illustrated by such work, and Dr. Robinson is confirmed and supplemented by such careful and fruitful researches.

*The Agnostic.* Poems by HENRY NILES PIERCE, D. D., LL.D., Bishop of Arkansas. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

It is not always advisable to clothe a metaphysical or philosophical argument in poetic form. The metaphysics generally will not make very attractive poetry; and the poetry—if there is any—is quite apt to play the mischief with the metaphysics. But in the *Agnostic* Bishop Pierce has attempted this very difficult task, and has done it in

such a way that the poetry and the argument rather help one another, than hinder. He begins with a *Prelude*, the connection of which with the poem that follows is not very perceptible at first sight, but on further thought is seen to be very deep and beautiful. *The Desolate Homestead* tells of the character and life of its former inhabitants. The ruins of the mighty cities—Babylon, Ninevah, Troy, Memphis, Thebes, Palenque and Copan—tell

“Where eager, hopeful men  
And tender women lived, and toiled, and loved,  
Rejoiced and mourned; felt envy, hate, remorse,  
And jealousy, with all the thrills and pangs  
Which torture or enrapture human hearts;  
And gladly then, or sadly, laid them down  
And died, and turned to dust, and were forgot.”

This desolation, giving proof of the *reality* of the previous condition of flourishing life, prepares the mind for the Poem of *The Agnostic* itself. This is wrought out with a great deal of strong and striking poetic imagery. It is narrated as a real experience of the Poet, who, having first experienced an exalted rapture of sensuous enjoyment in the beauty of Nature, suddenly finds that the sense of *smell* has forsaken him. Soon after *taste* is gone also. Then follows *hearing*, then *sight*, and last of all even *touch* disappears:

“And with it disappear the latest trace  
Of matter under forms perceptible  
To smell or taste; to hearing, sight or touch  
That things corporal existed still,  
I classed among the possibilities  
Which I could not affirm, nor yet deny,  
Since I had cognizance of naught beyond  
My inner self. I say my inner self:  
My outer shell, my gross material part,  
Had vanished with the vanished things of sense.  
The world had perished, leaving me alone,  
An isolated thought in boundless space!”

And yet the “thought” presupposes the thinker [the old *cogito, ergo sum*, of Des Cartes], and he adds:

“Whatever vain illusions mock the mind,  
The thinking *ego* steadfastly persists.  
*I am*, is certainly the first of truths.  
This fact I know, whatever else I doubt.  
And, doubting that, I doubt, and surely am;  
For, were I not, I could not even doubt.”

On this foundation he proceeds to reconstruct the world which had disappeared, through consciousness, will, and force, as the evidence of other minds than his own, until he reaches the conclusion that

"The cosmic forces are of might divine,  
And matter God's volition crystallized.  
Dynamic, static, still one energy  
Sustains or moves,—THE GREAT CREATIVE WILL."

Partial or broken rays of the same philosophic thoughts are found glancing through several of the sonnets and other poems in the book; though there are also many poems of more general character, breathing of personal sorrow, tender thought, classic legend, graceful and pleasing sentiment, and one piece of strangely lurid and weird descriptive power—*A Dream of Phantoms*.

*The Creation: A recent work of God.*—By the author of "Life of CHRIST," "The Bible a Scientific Revelation," etc., etc. New York: James Pott.

The heroism of this author is worthy of mention. He writes with a knowledge of the scientific ban under which he is resting, and very calmly prophecies the reception that will be given to his "labor of love." To our mind he cannot be dismissed by simply tabooing him as a hobby rider, neither can he be answered by charging upon him ignorance. He possesses all the calm and judicial qualities of mind that equip the reasoner, and the versatile knowledge that indicates the scholar.

We saw much that was excellent in his book, "The Bible a Scientific Revelation," and accepted some of his views in opposition to pseudo recognized science. Now, again, modern science may laugh at the theorem here presented, and stigmatize it as timid and conservative, but we regard it as an able resumé showing "the harmony between God's created and written revelations," "both comparatively recent" and "within the last six thousand years." In a detached preface, accompanying the volume, he says:

The theory is based on the Bible narrative, and confirmed by facts furnished by the ablest scientists in Europe and America, though they furnish them to prove the earth's great antiquity, which the writer believed for many years, until accumulating facts compelled him to relinquish that theory, and adopt one in favor of the recentness of creation.

There is not a geological stratum or a fossil remain, an ocean current, a deposit of drift or diluvium, a mountain chain, or ray of light which cannot be harmonized with this theory.

The striking excellence of this book is, that it affords no nook or corner in which infidelity, disguised as science, can entrench itself, and from thence make forays upon the Bible and the God of the Bible. It is devout in every line, and recognizes in all creation a personal first cause in contradistinction to self-originating evolution and impersonal law. We congratulate the author on his work and counsel him to "take heart" of hope and truth.

*Arius the Libyan*, An Idyl of the Primitive Church. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

It is somewhat startling to the student of history to hear the name of Arius associated with anything idyllic, hence the special need of examination into the real character and purpose of this work. It is divided into two books. The first may very fairly claim the title given to the whole work.

It is indeed a beautiful picture of Christian home life, pastoral in character and charming in its simplicity, written in a bright, entertaining way, and however much the imagination may have been called into requisition as to the early life of Arius, the writer manifests ability of a high order and shows a master hand in dealing with the idyllic. But in the second book the whole character of the work changes. Facts of history are dealt with, and the motives of men are interpreted. The special talent of the writer fails here, and crudeness of thought and misrepresentation of the facts of history are clearly manifest, although it is here that the purpose of the work is made apparent.

The writer evidently had a purpose beyond a mere idyl, for certain principles concerning the teaching of our LORD are constantly repeated in the first book, which develop and culminate in the second, in a way that amazes anyone at all acquainted with the teaching of our LORD and the early history of Christianity.

Arius, and the questions of the Trinity and the Council of Nicea, seem rather to be used as circumstantial conditions, and secondary to the real object of the work.



Its effect is strongly in the interest of communism.

It is asserted that JESUS CHRIST taught the denial of the right of private property and the antagonism of the Kingdom of Heaven to civil government. Eusebius is made to say that for three hundred years a Christian man had not owned a slave. Arius is charged with teaching zealously these principles, with the additional one that a Christian cannot be an Emperor or bear arms in war. Constantine is made to declare: "The system of Arius, primitive Christianity, would leave no room for Constantine on earth; there can be no rivalry between the Christianity of Hosius and the sovereigns of the world. I am therefore the champion of the Holy Trinity, and at the right time Arius must be condemned." The writer clearly attempts to charge our LORD with the radical principles of communism, and the condemnation of Arius a political expediency. Now, without entering into that most vexed question of Constantine's character and motives, certain facts of history, and alleged teachings of our LORD, may be called in question. Our LORD did not teach a denial of the right of private property, or community of goods as the future law of the Church. The most notable example on this point is the case of the rich young man. "Go, sell all thou hast and give to the poor and come follow me." Here was clearly no law stated; merely a remedy suited to the moral condition of a particular individual. At most it was only counsel given. It is true that the first Christians had all things in common, but this was not because our LORD had taught that a Christian could not have private property.

S. Peter told Ananias he might have kept his land if he had chosen, and that he was not *obliged* to give in his money to the common fund.

S. Paul wrote to the Corinthians "let *every one* of you lay by," which could not and would not have been the case if Christians were denied the right of private property. The statement that "for three hundred years no Christian man hath owned a slave," is both amazing and unaccountable.

The Epistle to Philemon refers entirely to a runaway

slave who is *sent back* and not, too, with the injunction to set him free. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the masters are enjoined how to treat their servants. And many instances are recorded in the history of the early Christians, of the release of slaves on great events.

This is simple history, not the philosophy of history.

Again, CHRIST never taught that a Christian cannot bear arms in war. The right of self-defense is Divine, and Christianity gives the State the same right, which makes it the duty of a Christian to bear arms in defense of his country.

The refusal of Christians to enter the army arose out of the fact that, in taking the military oath, they were obliged to pay Divine offering to the Emperor. It was a question of sacrifice to false gods, and not the right to bear arms. The same fact excluded them from the civil service.

Antagonism between the Kingdom of Heaven and civil government our LORD flatly denied. When the Jews sought to force an issue on this very point, He distinctly told them: "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto GOD the things that be GOD's." The annunciation of this principle at such a time allayed forever the possibility of conflict. This statement surely leaves "room for Constantine on earth," and does not make human government "ridiculous or unnecessary."

Later on in the Epistles we find S. Paul and S. Peter writing to the various Christians, to respect human government, "for the powers that be are ordained of GOD." And this is the law of CHRIST and Christianity for all time.

*The Life and Times of the Rev. John Skinner, M.A.*, of Linshart, Longside, Dean of Aberdeen, author of "Tullochgorum," etc. By the Rev. WILLIAM WALKER, M.A., Monymusk. London: Skeffington & Son.

We do not wonder that this work has already passed to a second edition. Our only wonder is that the work itself did not appear sooner, for the long and active life of its subject was intimately connected with events of more than usual importance. Its publication, however, is well timed, in view of the near approach of the centennial celebration of Bishop Seabury's consecration, in the accomplishment of

which Dean Skinner bore a leading part. Thus his biography has an especial interest for American Churchmen.

He was originally a Presbyterian, but was led to conform to the Church by the attractions of its beautiful liturgy. This was while he was yet a young man, and his next step was to obtain a tutorship, which he did in the family of Mr. Sinclair, of Scalloway in Shetland. It was while residing there, that he took to himself a wife, the daughter of the Rev. John Hunter, then the only Church clergyman in those islands. In 1742, Mr. Skinner was ordained deacon, and in the autumn of that year he was appointed to the charge of Longside, where he continued to reside and officiate for more than sixty years. He had been there but a short time when the final Jacobite insurrection occurred, from which he himself (though free from Jacobitical sympathies), was made to suffer grievously. At the instigation of a bigoted and influential lady in the neighborhood, his house was plundered and his church burned. The faith and firmness of both pastor and people remained unmoved, and services were still maintained by them, as by those of other parishes, in barns and private houses, despite the great inconvenience and intimidation to which they were subjected. On the plea of his having officiated to more than the statutory number of persons, the civil authorities were called upon by the same lady who had headed the first persecution to arrest him! He was accordingly cast into prison at Aberdeen, being accompanied thither by his son John, at that time a boy of eight years of age.

While in prison, Mr. Skinner applied himself diligently to study, especially renewing his acquaintance with Hebrew. In this connection, he embraced the Hutchinsonian system of Biblical interpretation, which seems to have influenced his whole after-life, and, through him, many of the other clergy in that part of Scotland.

Being released after six months' incarceration, he returned joyfully to his anxious and devoted flock and resumed his pastoral duties, which were relieved at times by literary work in different fields. One of his poems, "*Tullochgorum*," at once established his reputation as a song writer. Burns magnanimously styling it "the best Scotch song

ever Scotland saw." Another song, "The Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn," has also always been highly popular, ranking among his productions next to "Tullochgorum." His talents in this direction would easily have gained for him a still higher rank had he chosen to devote himself chiefly to such compositions. But his mind was almost wholly absorbed in pastoral work and theological studies. These latter continued mainly in the line of Biblical criticism, with an occasional digression into that of ecclesiastical controversy. His efforts in building up the Church, which at this period was so feeble and disheartened in Scotland, were most energetic, and contributed largely to its restoration to public respect and confidence.

When a coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen was required, his elder clerical brothers were anxious that he should permit himself to be put in nomination for that office, but he persistently declined, recommending them to elect his son John, who had been for a number of years in charge of S. Andrew's, Aberdeen, where he was greatly esteemed by the whole community. The son frequently bore testimony to the valuable help which he had received from his father in the discharge of his episcopal duties. It was almost immediately after his consecration, that Canon Berkeley (whose warm and unflinching interest in the American Church—inherited from his famous father, the Bishop of Cloyne—should always be gratefully remembered), initiated the correspondence with the Scotch Bishops which eventually led to Dr. Seabury's consecration. This important step was finally agreed upon by them, mainly through the arguments of Bishop Skinner, who throughout was greatly aided by the powerful counsel and influence of his father. From the beginning, at a time when the cause appeared likely to have but few friends, Mr. Skinner was its zealous advocate.

It is very pleasant to note how cordially the author of the volume under review writes of the American Church in referring to this transaction. "Not a few Scottish Churchmen," he says, "feel strongly that in the Seabury consecration, their Church was more blessed in giving than the American in receiving." Much interest is already man-

ifested in regard to the proposed celebration of the event in S. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen (where a beautiful East window in commemoration of it has been erected recently), on October 7th and 8th of this year, and it is to be hoped that the American Church may be adequately represented on that occasion.

Towards the close of his life, Mr. Skinner was made Dean of Aberdeen, and he was subsequently the recipient of another honour of a civil character, which must have been peculiarly gratifying to him. In the autumn of 1789, he along with his son—the Bishop, was presented with the freedom of the City of Old Aberdeen, the same city where he had once been so unrighteously imprisoned. Ten years later, he lost his devoted wife, who had been his helpmeet for more than half a century. He has embalmed her memory in a graceful Latin ode in which he recounts in tender and loving language her many graces and virtues. In the spring of 1807, his son—the Bishop, met with the same bereavement, and shortly afterwards he invited his venerable father to make his home with him at Aberdeen, which he at once gladly undertook to do. He seemed at the time to be in his usual health and spirits, but he survived the removal only a fortnight, dying on the 16th of June, in the 87th year of his age, literally falling asleep in the arms of his son. According to his own request, his remains were interred by the side of his wife's in the churchyard of Longside, the parishioners of which erected a monument at the head of the grave with a suitable inscription. Later on, the East window in the new and handsome church of S. John's was dedicated to his revered memory.

In closing this review of a very interesting volume—the work upon which has been admirably done by Mr. Walker—we cannot do better than quote the estimate of Dean Skinner's character and attainments as expressed by Bishop Gleig, who in his memoir of him (p. 197), says: "By the writer of these remarks, with whom of all his brethren, perhaps, he had the most earnest controversies, both in the theology and in human science, he has often been pronounced the brightest ornament of the Scotch Episcopal Church during the latter half of the 18th century,

and, in his opinion, Mr. Skinner would have been a very bright ornament of any Church in any country. *ὀλυχνος, δακρυμενος, και Φανων.*"

*Among the Holy Hills.* By HENRY M. FIELD, D. D., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In the last volume of Dr. Field's travels noticed by us, he stopped under the walls of Jerusalem. In this, he begins with the Holy City, which he reached in time for the Passover and the striking religious ceremonies of Holy Week, and which he most graphically describes; and thence his route lay northward, through Samaria, Nazareth, the lake of Tiberias, Damascus, Baalbec, and so over the Lebanon to Beirut, where he bids us good bye. Never very profound or original, never weary or dull in style, this veteran traveller touches every page with interest. His quick eye, his easy conversational style, his tender sympathy, his deep religious convictions and emotions, his picturesque and lively descriptions, all make him one of the most charming of companions from the beginning of the journey to the end of it.

*Days and Nights with Jesus; or, Words for the Faithful.* Gathered and Composed by the Rev. CHARLES FREDERICK HOFFMAN, D. D., Advent, Christmas and Epiphany Tide. New York: James Pott.

Dr. Hoffman speaks very modestly of his book in his preface, saying that he "will gladly receive suggestions for the improvement of this work. He will also be thankful to have his attention drawn to any inaccuracies." His object is "to give unity, definiteness and point to the teachings of the Church." His plan is to take each week of the Church's Year separately, giving it a distinct name of its own, and then gathering together—with some contributions of his own—a very great variety of appropriate extracts from a great variety of sources, poetic as well as prose. As to names of weeks, he calls the first week in Advent "Entrance Week;" the second, "Bible Week;" the third, "Ministers' Week," and the fourth, "Approachment Week." The variety of sources from which he quotes is so great that, to save space, he refers to the authors only by *initials*, and the

mere list of works, with their initials, fills some six pages. The tone of Church teaching is thoroughly sound and uncompromising. As a sample, we would refer to the second week in Epiphany-tide, which is called "Marriageable and Married People's Week," the Gospel being the Marriage at Cana of Galilee. About eighty-six pages are devoted to this one week; and the full doctrine of the Church touching divorce, re-marriage, forbidden degrees, as also the mystic signification of marriage, are all set forth with the utmost distinctness and fullness. In each week large groups of "readings" from Holy Scripture akin to the subject are indicated by references. The present volume—only the first of a series—ends with Epiphany-tide. A book like this is a devotional library in itself, and we trust that it may be carried to a successful completion.

*The Poetry of Other Lands.*—A collection of translations into English verse of the Poetry of other Languages, Ancient and Modern, compiled by N. CLEMONS HUNT. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

In this one handsome volume are gathered specimens (translated) of a very great variety of ages and languages—Arabian, Italian, Old Greek, Spanish, French, German, Latin, Danish, Russian, Dutch, Portuguese, more Modern Greek, Polish, Persian, Bohemian, Swedish, Turkish, Japanese, Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Servia—such is the variety, in the order gathered out of the index. The number of translators is as varied as of the authors and languages, many of the versions being by acknowledged masters of English verse. The pieces are arranged under subject headings: "Poems of Nature," "Poems of Places," "Poems of Love," etc., and under each heading, those of each nationality are grouped together. Of the larger number of poets, only one specimen is given; but more is allotted to those of more distinction. Thus Anacreon has *ten* pieces, Camoens, *five*; Goethe, *ten*; Heine, *six*; Horace, *thirteen*; Michael Angelo, *eight*; Petrarca, *six*; Schiller, *ten*, etc. It is a charming volume, which one cannot open anywhere without finding something of sentiment, or wit, or wisdom, or pure and tender imagination, or stinging satire, or epigram, to enjoy,

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THE  
American Church Review  
FOR MARCH

Will contain a biographical sketch of the late Dr. Shelton of Buffalo, by the Rev. John W. Brown, D.D. The frontispiece will be a steel portrait of Dr. Shelton, engraved from a photograph, expressly for the REVIEW. The other articles will be of great interest.

The March number will be mailed on the 15th of the month, and the REVIEW thereafter will be issued on the first of the month.

All the portraits hereafter will be steel engravings, which, while adding to the expense of publication, will be in keeping with the character and dignity of the REVIEW.

The editor begs to announce that in the future general articles must not exceed *fifteen* pages in length. A short article of five pages will be far more acceptable than one of ten. We have received a large number of manuscripts, many of which are valuable, but too long for publication. The reason for this restriction must be obvious. The policy of the REVIEW opens it to a general discussion of all questions affecting the Church and Society, and when two or three articles fill a number, others are excluded; some of which are on questions of *present interest*, and if delayed, lose their value. It has long been our intention to enlarge the department of Recent Literature. Shorter contributions will enable us to do this, and will still leave room for the discussion of important questions, and also for a short article in each number on *Current Church History*, the first of which will appear in the March number.



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# AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

Vol. XLII.—No. 153

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MARCH, 1884.

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## MINISTERIAL SUPPORT.

**A**MONG the anniversaries which occurred during the late meeting of the General Convention was that of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions. That organization sprang out of a desire to supplement the meagre maintenance of Missionaries by contributions, mainly in kind. It has greatly grown and prospered, and its latest anniversary, now that it has come to cover a much wider ground and to do a much more various work than it originally set out to do, was very naturally an occasion of warm congratulation. Bishops and Clergy vied with each other in speaking words of merited commendation and approval, and the air was full (a little too full perhaps,) of the notes of rejoicing and felicitation.

A little too full, perhaps, I have ventured to suggest, not because the work was not good and praiseworthy, but because it still leaves undone that larger work which ought, long ago, to have made it unnecessary. The Bishops and Clergy were in the Chancel, and the Churchwomen, in accordance with the orderly usage of the Church, in the pews. But suppose one of these latter to



have been allowed the privilege to say what must have been often in the hearts, if not on the lips, of earnest men and women in this Church of ours, would it not perhaps have been something like this: O, Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers, Brethren of the Clergy and laity, See what your indifference, your parsimony, your self-indulgence constrain us to do. We cannot atone for your neglect of an underpaid and half-starved ministry. We cannot compensate our Master's servants for what you owe to them. But we have organized this Sisterhood of Mercy to the Clergy, that you and all the world may be anew reminded of that debt which the Church owes to her workmen—owes, and will not pay. As we rehearse to you the history of our endeavors, we charge you to remember that what we have given as a dole was owed by us all as a debt. As we read to you the grateful acknowledgments of heroic men and women who are enduring privations of an Apostolic hardness with the patience and courage often of martyrs, we bid you to remember that neither you nor we have any right to such acknowledgments. These words of gratitude for a few garments which were not ours to give, but belonged of right to them to whom they were sent, ought they not to mantle your cheeks and ours with shame as we realize how little we deserve them! Understand then—these are the words which such an one might speak, out of a full heart, understand then, brother laymen and sister lay-women, understand then, ye fathers and brethren of the ministry in high places; understand then, ye city Rectors, whose voices ought to be lifted up louder than all others in protest against the Church's neglect and indifference concerning those brethren who are struggling and suffering in the regions round about, that this Association exists to rebuke such neglect, to reprove such indifference, and to protest against both the policy and the principles that inspire them.

For one, I should bow to that rebuke without a word. When some Bohemian scribbler from his safe obscurity shoots his envenomed arrow at what he calls a luxurious city clergy, one can afford to treat him and his falsehoods

with the contemptuous indifference which both alike deserve. For I know, as he knows or might know if he chose that if any such body exists in this age it is certainly not in this land, since, in the wealthiest communities not less than in smaller towns, a clergyman's salary is usually graduated with the nicest reference to what will barely enable him to meet the social demands upon him and to make a decent appearance, and to do absolutely nothing more; that while, leaving out the rewards of commercial life altogether, the earnings of other professions—the law and medicine, are counted by tens and sometimes by hundreds of thousands, and that while, in scores of pulpits in our cities, there are men who are the intellectual peers of the foremost men in those communities in which they live, and who in any other profession would very speedily have won both wealth and ease, as a matter of fact no city clergyman by means of his professional compensation ever attains to either. And knowing this, one is constrained to regard with very meagre respect either for his intelligence or his candor anybody who talks about the luxurious self-indulgence of metropolitan clergy.

But when I turn to my brother in some distant missionary field who is fighting the devil on five hundred dollars a year, with which he has to maintain a family and educate his children, with which he must dress like a gentleman though he is paid like a pauper, with which he must groan under the burden of a worry for bread and a watchfulness for souls—then, I confess I am dumb and ashamed. For from me and others whose more comfortable maintenance gave them freedom to speak, even as it ought to have inspired them with generosity to sympathize, he and those living in like straits with himself had a right to expect a rebuke of the Church's niggardly policy, and a protest against the sinfulness of her easy indifference.

And as one of these I am unwilling to be silent any longer. I am constrained to affirm that there is no neglect or omission which stains the Church's record to-day more grievous, more hurtful, more damaging to her influence,

more obstructive of her progress than the support which she provides for her clergy. I believe that she is deliberately driving from her threshold the best energies of youth, the best aspirations of intellectual ardor, the finest culture and scholarship of her own children; that the standard of ability and attainments which ought to distinguish her ministry is gradually but steadily deteriorating; that, in an age which demands not less of learning but more, not a lower standard of excellence but a higher, in an age when hostility to the Faith, moving forward hand in hand with the most affluent culture was never so aggressive as it is to-day, she is not multiplying her defenders of the Faith but diminishing them. I believe in a word, that her provision for the maintenance of any studious, earnest, single-minded, truly Christ-like man who would fain enter her ministry, is ordinarily so mean and meagre, as to amount almost to a downright prohibition at its threshold.

And I am moved to say this, not in any spirit of merely rhetorical exaggeration, but upon the basis of demonstrable facts. Let me name one or two of them.

(a) Not a great many years ago an association of gentlemen in New York, of whom the Bishop of New York was one, organized themselves into a corporation for the promotion of Life Insurance among Clergymen. In connection with its operations it became important to this Association to ascertain the average compensation of the ministry of our own and other communions. The results of these enquiries were published, and it appeared that the lowest scale of compensation to be found in any religious body of any name is that which obtains in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Communion which pays its Ministers the best, is that Communion (the Methodist) which has always been supposed to include the largest proportion of persons of humble circumstances, and to provide for her Ministers the most stinted subsistence, while our own Church—commonly called the Church of the wealthy, pays her clergy upon an average between five and six hundred dollars.

(b) Again. At a recent meeting of a Woman's Auxiliary Association, its members were addressed by a

Western Bishop\* who told them of the comfort which their work had carried to many homes in his missionary jurisdiction, and in illustration of the fact mentioned that one Clergyman to whom the Association had sent was compelled to support himself, a wife and children on *three hundred dollars*. He added with reference to another case where the Association had furnished clothing for a family, that so narrow were their means that, without such aid from without they would have been left absolutely naked, since their missionary stipend barely sufficed to supply them with food and fuel.

Here in other words, was an educated man, and a refined and delicate woman (for, as a class, the wives of the Clergy are the peers in culture and intelligence of their husbands), who were doomed to maintain themselves on a stipend that a mechanic would have scorned, that a brakeman on a railroad would have refused, and that even a day-laborer in the streets would have told his employer a year ago was insufficient for his needs.

(c) Is it any wonder that it follows from this that the quality of the ministry deteriorates? If any one disputes that fact let him take the catalogues of our Theological Seminaries and compare the proportion of college graduates now and twenty years ago. While the cost of living, of education, of books, of everything that is necessary to a clergyman's existence and usefulness has, within the last quarter of a century, more than doubled, if not trebled, the stipends of the clergy have in many instances scarcely increased at all, and as a consequence of this many who are willing enough to make sacrifices and endure hardness are turned away from a calling in which their support is so penurious as to make independence, a decent self-respect, and most of all a whole-hearted devotion to their work almost impossible. It is said sometimes that any man who is kept out of the ministry by any question of support, has demonstrated, beforehand, his unfitness to be in it. The statement is as

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\* The fearless and self-sacrificing Bishop of Nebraska, whose ringing and inspiring voice has, since these words were written, and as it seems to us, all too soon, been stilled in death.

false as it is irrational. If a man sees beforehand that the vast majority of the clergy are without anything approaching an adequate maintenance, and that, for want of that maintenance hundreds of them are broken in health or in spirit before they reach middle life,—that the furnishing of one's mind—the replenishing of his scanty store of books, nay even the adequate feeding and clothing of one's household, are all but impossible; if he sees still further, that the poverty of themselves and their children is a constant temptation to the clergy to be intriguing for promotion instead of working diligently in their appointed cures and waiting to be sought,—if he sees, in a word, that downright penury in the ministry, as anywhere else, will starve a man's mind as well as his body and pauperize his spirit as well as his speech, then I maintain that he does rightly to hesitate before entering upon a calling in which he knows beforehand, grinding care and ceaseless anxiety for others, coupled with a sense of utter helplessness, will largely cripple, if they do not absolutely destroy his usefulness. It is time for the Church to understand that if the Christian ministry is to be the power that it ought to be among us, it will be when the Church has had the wisdom and the justice to lift it to such a position of decent and self-respecting independence, as shall release it from the cringing spirit of anxious servility and the dreary hopelessness of inevitable want.

But again. It is said, very often, that the life of penury to which the clergy are doomed, is one which becomes their calling, in which one ought to set an example of abstinence and simplicity, and self-denial. But what is the value of an example of self-denial that is wholly involuntary? How shall I be influenced by the example of the silence under insult of my neighbor, when I happen to know that he was born deaf and dumb? How shall I admire the honesty of yonder servant of a bank, when I know that he has never been allowed to enter in vaults, or, under any pretext whatever, to touch one dollar of its funds? The value of self-denial, depends upon its being voluntary; but to compel a man to starve and

then hold him up to the world as an illustration of heroic abstinence is only a little more absurd than it is cruel. First let us give the clergy the means of living respectably, and then we may rightly call upon them to set us an example of Christian moderation.

And if it be asked at this point, what is to be understood by "living respectably," by a "decent maintenance" and like terms—what, in a word ought to be the *standard* of ministerial support. I submit that the question is answered in those words of the Apostles which we have among the Offertory sentences: "Let him that is taught in the word minister unto him that teacheth in *all good things*." Could there be anything broader or clearer as a rule of practice, and can we find in such words any warrant for the notion that the clergy are to be a mendicant class hanging about the back doors of the rich—relegated, as in the reign of Charles the II, to the kitchens of the nobility and the sculleries of the great? It is urged, indeed that S. Paul himself lived a life of great privation if not often of downright poverty, that he was so far from being comfortably maintained in his ministry that he wrought at his trade as a tent-maker to support himself; all which is true, true enough, but entirely aside from the real question at issue, which is, whether the Christians of the Apostolic age did not minister to him in all good things—whether, in fact S. Paul was not maintained as comfortably and generously as these primitive Christians maintained themselves? The simple truth is that S. Paul lived of very necessity, precisely as the people among whom he labored lived. The first converts to Christianity were not generally among the wealthy, and the Apostle shared their lot, as what servant of his Master would not have rejoiced to do? He wrought at his trade simply because, in that first stage of the planting of the Church, there was no organized body to provide for his support. But while he wrought, he wrote, and this is the law that he lays down "let him that is taught in the word minister to him that teacheth in all good things." If any one can find in such words any warrant for the theory that there is to be one scale

of living for a Christian laity and another and meaner one for the Christian ministry I can admire his ingenuity but it must needs be at the expense of my respect for his honesty. The reasonable comforts that any Christian man or woman may allow to themselves belong of right to those who are ministers of the Altar of God, and the withholding of what is due on the one hand, that it may be expended in luxury and self-indulgence on the other, is at once the emasculation of our common Christianity, the shame of the Church, and the curse of her people.

For let us remember that we may not dis sever the first member of the passage I have quoted from its last and consequent. We must "not be deceived, God is not mocked." It is eternally true that whatsoever a man, or a Church, sows that, and not something else, they shall reap. And so the Church that sows starvation will reap starvation. If it poorly feeds its priests, whether their minds or their bodies, it will be poorly fed in turn. The age of miracles is past. There is no manna from heaven to replenish the parsonage table. The clergy cannot, any more than the captive Israelites, make bricks without straw. If therefore they are to do something more than starveling work, they must have something more than starveling support. The Church will reflect in its progress, or want of progress its own treatment of them, just as inevitably as a mirror reflects the face that looks into it.

And so, for the sake of the cause and Kingdom of CHRIST in our land, we want, I believe, far more than we want a score of other things on which we are spending our strength and breath and energies, a wise, large and well considered scheme for the adequate sustentation of the clergy. The example that other religious bodies have so lately and so opportunely set us, we want the energy and the candor to follow. We want a general and concerted movement for the better support of our missionary and rural clergy. We want to stop sighing and saying "It is very sad and painful, but what can be done about it?" and, instead, strike hands and resolve before God that something *shall* be done! And most of all, we of the clergy, whose personal circumstances place us be-

yond the suspicion of being influenced by any sense of individual grievance want to espouse the cause of those in regard to whom, there are at least some among us who have felt moved to cry "we are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us and we would not hear."

What is it, then, that we may do? The most effectual lever in all reforms is the power of example. Is the spirit of an unselfish chivalry grown so cold that those whose maintenance is relatively adequate and comfortable may not do something among themselves which shall move others to do more? There are probably five hundred Bishops and Clergy in the American Church whose incomes are as much as, or over, \$3,000 per annum. A charge of two and a-half per cent upon such an income would be \$75. A charge of two and a half per cent upon five hundred salaries of \$3,000 each would produce \$62,500 per annum. It is not a very large sum to be divided among two thousand clergy, more or less, whose salaries do not amount to \$1,000 a year each, but it would be large enough to move the hearts of generous laymen who saw such an evidence that their brethren of the clergy were in earnest, to make it larger. It would awaken an interest and inaugurate a movement which would grow to something worthy of the emergency.

(d) And so soon as that interest had been awakened, it would be appropriate to consider, *e.g.*, such a wise and successful scheme as has long been in operation in Scotland, the Established Church—a scheme which is administered unless I am mistaken, in both the "Free Kirk" and in connection with what is known as the "Sustentation Fund." Under this plan, feeble Churches are aided in supporting their ministers by appropriations which are arranged upon a scale graduated according to the contributions of the people. The aid from without is thus made an incentive to effort from within, and a relatively weak parish is often enabled to retain the services of one whose ministrations it especially prizes, by being re-inforced at a critical moment with aid which simply doubles its own increased contributions.



(e) Along with some such plan, there should be another not unlike it, which should include both effort from within and co-operation from without, to secure the partial (not complete) endowment of parishes. Complete endowment discourages the giving habit of the people. Partial endowment secures the partial independence, and so contributes to the freedom from care and the self-respect, of the minister. It is a cheering sign that in some of our larger cities and most useful parishes, such as the Church of the Transfiguration and S. Ann's Church in New York, and in S. Andrew's Church Philadelphia, this plan has already been inaugurated.

(f) Again: In every organized Diocese there might well be fixed a minimum standard of salary, at which, through such agencies as I have suggested the salaries of the clergy ministering in feebler parishes should be maintained.

And finally, the whole matter, with its often cruel hardships to sensitive and defenseless natures, should not be left to the carelessness, the caprice, the niggardly parsimony of those who talk of "hiring" a minister as they would hire a horse—nor yet to their unreflecting and unenlightened inconsiderateness. There must be some voice somewhere that will speak to the laity gently, but plainly and explicitly. Here the poorly paid clergy may not plead for themselves. To whom may they look to plead for them if not to those who are their brethren? It has been sometimes remarked by observant laymen that of all classes, the clergy seem to have least of what, among men of the world, is called *esprit de corps*, and a cynical man of letters once remarked that when clergymen set about discussing one of their own Order, "it generally amounted to an invitation to view the remains." If such a charge be undeserved,—if the charity of the clergy for one another be larger and more loving than the world believes, may it not be worth while to consider whether it is not time that it should find some more practical and fraternal expression?

HENRY C. POTTER.

## WILLIAM SHELTON, D. D.

THERE stands to-day in the city of Buffalo a stately Church building which is thought to be one of the most perfect representations of pointed architecture in this country. S. Paul's Cathedral Church however is more interesting because it represents the almost life work of one who was its Rector for over a half century and who is the subject of this biographical sketch.

The Rev. William Shelton was the fourth son of the Rev. Philo and Lucy Shelton, and was born in Fairfield, now Bridgeport, Connecticut, September 11, A.D., 1798.

His father is said to have been the first clergyman ordained by Bishop Seabury. Though this statement is disputed the correction ought not to be made without positive documentary evidence, as the writer has heard the son affirm it as a well known fact. The further we live from the date of the consecration of the first Bishop the more important becomes this fact, and now when the Church in Scotland is about to celebrate the event, it is most interesting to find that the Rev. Dr. Wm. Shelton deceased within a year, is but one remove from the first American Bishop.

His father was born in Ripton, Conn., May 5, A.D., 1754, and came of the staunch Church stock, for his grandfather was the famous Daniel Shelton who was persecuted by "the Independents" for his Church principles in early colonial days.

The Rev. Philo Shelton began his studies under the Rev. Wm. Scoville in Waterbury, and read service as a Lay Reader in his native town as the following receipt shows:

Ripton, May 31, 1779.

Received of Mr. Abijah Shelton ten pounds nineteen shillings in Continental bills for part payment for reading prayers in the parish of Ripton, 1778. Received per me,

PHILO SHELTON.

Those who are familiar with the history of the Church in Conn. will see how important these names and incidents become in relation to the beginnings of the Church in this land. He graduated from Yale College July 25, 1775, when the Rev. Dr. Stiles was the president, and was ordained to the Diaconate in CHRIST Church, Middletown, Aug. 3d, 1785, and in the same year advanced to the Priesthood in Trinity Church, New Haven.

He was first settled in charge of the three parishes of Fairfield, Newfield, New Bridgeport and Westen. A short time before his death he relinquished Bridgeport and confined his labors to Fairfield. Some notes found among the papers of his son, speak of his father as the possessor of a few paternal acres and a homestead where he reared his large family. Part of this landed estate was sold to pay the necessary expenses of the education of two of his sons. Dr. Shelton also writes of his father as follows:

He has left a name in the region of country where he resided renowned for his perfect sincerity of purpose, simplicity of character and undoubted integrity. His devotion to his duty as a Church clergyman was as earnest as it was sincere. He kept an open house of hospitality and was well known for his unaffected generosity. His theology was strictly in conformity with Scripture as explained and illustrated by the Prayer Book. He believed in the Divinely Constituted Church, and the Church in America to be a daughter of the Church in England. He believed in the unbroken succession of that Church through her Priesthood from the Apostles' days and in the spiritual efficacy of the Sacraments.

These doctrines he taught as essential to the well being of the Christian Religion and to those as taught by the followers of Calvin he felt an unqualified repugnance and constantly through his life dissuaded by argument and by exhortation his people from entertaining them. Though passive in the great work of emancipating this country from British rule he was most active in securing for the Church in this land what he deemed the just rights of a free people. By this influence two dissimilar bodies of men were united in a common cause which drove the dominant party from power and which enabled the Church to have certain rights and privileges which had hitherto been denied here. The first fruits of this was the Charter of a College since called Trinity, in

Hartford. He was one of the few among his brethren who decided upon this measure and carried it into effect—and which produced such a change in politics as to have its influence continued to the present.

Rev. Dr. Beardsley in his history tells us he was chosen Secretary to the House of Bishops in 1811. He was the founder of the Church in Bridgeport and for forty years was the continued promoter of its best interests—by the soundness of his doctrine, the zeal of his preaching and the primitive simplicity of his life. He died on the 27th of Feb., 1825. Bishop Brownell said of him, "He has left an example by which all his surviving brethren may profit and which few of them can hope to surpass." The wife of the Rev. Philo Shelton was a woman of marked influence and her son often spoke of her power over him for good. She was a well instructed and devoted Church woman, and after a faithful companionship for nearly a half century, survived her husband thirteen years.

The following letters from Rev. Dr. Jarvis to the Rev. Wm. Shelton also indicate how high his position was, and how nearly he came to be the successor of Bishop Jarvis:

New York, May 18th, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

As I have been lately informed that you will probably be elected to the Episcopate at the meeting in June, I embrace the earliest opportunity to express my hopes that you will in that case do me the favor to accept the robes which were first worn by Bishop Seabury and afterwards by my father. The Seal of the Bishop of Connecticut and its appendages were purchased in London by Bishop Seabury at his private expense and my father when he was consecrated purchased them of the Bishop's family. But it is manifestly improper that a seal of office should be private property. It is my intention therefore to present the seal and vice to the Diocese, and in the event of your election, you will have the goodness to make this intention known to the Convention and to inform me in what manner I shall transmit them to you. I must beg to make my compliments acceptable to Mrs. Shelton and your daughter and to believe me, with great regard,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your friend and brother,

SAM. F. JARVIS.

The Rev. Wm. Shelton.

New York, June 12, 1818.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

As the *Nolo Episcopari* is one of the qualifications for the office of a Bishop I am not surprised at your diffidence with regard to your own merits; and however your modesty may underrate them, they are certainly treated more justly by others. I was informed as I stated to

you, and informed by clerical gentlemen whom I consider most competent to give an opinion, that if any election should be made at the Convention (now past) you would undoubtedly be the man. After this assurance I conceived that I was authorized to make the offer I did. It was intended to express as soon as I had an opportunity to do so the very great respect and regard, (I hope you will permit me to add friendship) which I feel for you and yours. My father I know felt toward you every sentiment of kindness and affection and I grew up in the habit of correspondent feelings. I shall soon I hope have the pleasure of seeing you on my way to New Haven and in the meantime with compliments to your good family must beg you to believe me ever

Your affectionate friend and Brother,

Rev. Wm. Shelton.

SAM. F. JARVIS.

The following letter is interesting for the fact that it tells of the primary Conference relating to the College which has become so successful in our day :

Bridgeport, Dec. 19, 1822.

DEAR BROTHER :

I have just returned from New Haven and sit down to give you an account of our meeting of which I presume you are anxious to hear. We all much lamented your absence and the difficulty that caused it. About twenty of the clergy met at the Bishop's. After the usual salutations and a pleasant cup of tea the Bishop opened the business of the meeting by reciting to us the state of the Magazine and the necessity of giving more countenance to the work by exerting our influence to increase the subscriptions and furnishing more original matter for publication and then read your letter until he came to the last clause your sentiments were generally approbated—After discussing this subject—that of founding a College was next brought up, and the previous question was taken, whether it was expedient to have an Episcopal College; an unanimous vote in the affirmative. The next question what shall be the lowest sum for a permanent fund, on which the petition is to be granted? The sum agreed upon was thirty thousand dollars. A committee of six appointed to draw a memorial which is to be put into the hands of every clergyman, and to be signed by all his parishoners if they see cause. Also subscription papers for the fund : With regard to the place of location! The places named Hartford, Middletown and New Haven. Which of the three places to be determined upon by the Trustees when appointed. The Committee named were Bishop Brownell, Mr. Croswell and Mr. Wheaton, with Messrs. Nathan Smith, Seymour and Boardman. Great harmony and unanimity of sentiment pervaded every heart present. After discussing the subjects and finishing the business upon which we were summoned together, we were pleasantly entertained with fruits, raisins, nuts and a glass of wine, and closed our meeting with prayer and retired to our respective lodgings. In the morning the clergy generally returned to their respective families. I tarried and dined with the Bishop and arrived home at day lit dawn, and after a little refreshment thought

proper to give you the above and foregoing narrative. Mr. Baldwin was not present nor Mr. Judd and but one from Litchfield County, viz. Holcomb. \* \* \* \*

Believe me your sincere friend and Brother,  
To the Rev. Mr. Burhans.

PHILO SHELTON.

William Shelton spent his early years under the blessed training of such a father, and from a child was instructed in the Word of God and the cardinal doctrines of the Church. As a lad in his father's home he was much in the society of the most distinguished clergymen and so was early informed upon the leading ecclesiastical events of the day. The desire for the companionship of his "grave and reverend seniors" was a marked peculiarity of his youth. Once when Bishop Hobart was a guest of his father, William was deputed to take the Bishop in the gig to New York. On their way through Marmaroneck plains, a young man was overtaken on the road. The Bishop called halt and warmly greeting the gentleman entered into conversation about some studies and books. After starting on their journey the Bishop said, William, that young man is named DeLancey and is studying under me for the ministry and you mark my word, he will make a name for himself in the Church. The first Bishop of Western New York, fully verified the prophecy. William completed his academical course at Cheshire School and his theological studies in the General Seminary.

While at Cheshire Academy the following letter he received from his father and it is given as showing the influence which was exercised over the son:

SON WILLIAM:

In your letter you express your entire contentment in your studies. When we feel the most secure we are frequently in the greatest danger. Satan may be attacking us in some quarter, that we think not of, thereby throwing us into difficulties past remedy. You are just now emerging into life and it becomes you to be exceeding cautious how you behave and keep yourself clear from the world and from all attachments to any of its allurements. (His father also cautioned his son in this letter to beware of "the secret dart of love" and so strongly reasoned against matrimonial seductions that it is to be feared that it accounts for the lengthy bachelordom of the son. This however was most richly compensated for in the estimable and splendid wife which in his later years he found. This letter concludes with the hope that ) You will return to

the family with all the improvements which we have a reason to expect and what will be more gratifying to us—a character not only unsullied, but with adornings as will do honor to yourself and the name you bear. Let duty alone regulate your conduct and be not hasty of speech nor wanting in civility but be the steady, upright, well-behaved young man and the consequence will be your own happiness.

With due respect I subscribe myself your Father,  
PHILO SHELTON.

This dignified epistle shows what was the paternal power which moulded the strong, sedate and manly character in the son. When about nineteen years old William graduated from the academy, and for a short time thereafter taught school at North Hempstead L. I. In the General Seminary it was the day of small things, but his associates were those whose names have been known since in the Church as among her most able and renowned Prelates and Priests. The correspondence which has fortunately been largely preserved, shows a warmth of attachment indicating the truest friendship. Whittingham, Doane, Seabury, Jarvis, Johnson and other like names were the splendid surroundings of the young student and their letters prove them to have been his attached friends.

He was ordained to the Diaconate Aug. 4th, A. D. 1823 and in the same year settled at Plattsburg. From this place he removed to Red Hook where he remained a year. In a letter dated Red Hook, Oct. 31, 1825, the vestry expressed their sorrow at parting from the Pastor and say:

You have been associated with us as our Pastor but twelve months, and in that time attachments have been formed on the part of the Vestry and Congregation that fully convince us of your worth. We approve not only of the manner but the zeal and industry with which you have performed all the duties belonging to your station.

During his diaconate Columbia College conferred on him the degree of A. M.\* In reply to his friend Mr. Gulian P. Verplanck who notified him of the honor, he acknowledges his unmeriting it but declares "it shall be another powerful incentive to rouse the energies of my nature into vigorous action." He remained in Fairfield and was for

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\* It ought in justice to Dr. Shelton to be mentioned that he was fully qualified for a collegiate course, but that staunch loyalty to the Church, caused his father to send him to Cheshire, as a Church institution which he felt bound to sustain.

a part of his ministry during the three years there associated with his father. While here he was advanced to the Priesthood by Bishop Brownell, May 17th, A. D. 1826. In the Summer of 1829 he accepted the call to S. Pauls Church Buffalo, which became the scene of his life's work. Travelling by wagon and boat he reached his parish in the early Fall of that year, and preached his first sermon as Rector on Sept, 11th which was his thirty-first birth day. He had previously visited the place in an excursion to Canada, and seemed to be attracted to the new life of the West. The Rev. Addison Searle who preceded him as Rector writes in 1827, "We are gratified to learn that you arrived safely in your snug and quiet home, and that you were pleased with your excursion to these Western wilds; especially that this frontier station—this outpost of the Union, Buffalo, in its rude state seemed so agreeable to you. It is a goodly heritage, but has few pleasures, luxuries or advantages in comparison of the old long settled parts of the country." In this letter Mr. Searle sounds his young friend as to his willingness to succeed him and assures him of a pretty unanimous vote of invitation. He says, "They must have a devout, consistent and enlightened Churchman, and you sir, as far as I know, will be the person should I learn you will be likely to come." In another letter he informs him of his unanimous election, and after having been succeeded by his friend writes of the new Rector's success as heard from through his former parishoners. The literal reproduction of all these early letters would doubtless prove attractive to many but the space of this article forbids it. It is for this reason that we must only hastily sketch his extended Rectorship in Buffalo. When Dr. Shelton came to his parish the city had less than ten thousand in population and was considered a frontier town. In an address delivered by him on an occasion celebrating his 78th birthday he says, "I was at my coming in entire ignorance of Western habits and people. The congregation was composed of persons from various parts of the Nation, chiefly from New England and of those mostly who knew little of the



claims of the Church and were ignorant of her doctrines. It can be readily understood how nice a matter it was to me who was bred in the bosom of the Church, who believed all her doctrines and felt bound to proclaim them. I taught doctrines and inculcated opinions which had never been heard of, and which seemed not only strange but so exclusive as to be illiberal and uncharitable." The earnest Rector in God's Providence was spared to see this opposition to the Church turned to an intelligent adherence to the truth. In these early years his nearest clerical neighbors were the brethren in Canada, and the courteous friendship begun then lasted through his whole life. The lord Bishop of Niagara when present at the fiftieth anniversary of his Rectorship said, "Amongst the many blessings with which a gracious God has surrounded me I count my acquaintance with Dr. Shelton to be among the greatest. It commenced nearly a half century ago and has been interrupted by not a single unpleasantness. He had opportunities of education superior to mine and he was blessed with a strong, vigorous mind and a warm generous heart which whilst it drew me naturally to him caused me to profit greatly by our intercourse." The Bishop also stated at that time what he repeated at the memorial service held on All Saints Day. Namely, "that it was owing to the information and instruction received from Dr. Shelton which led to the publication of a pamphlet by himself concerning the organization of the Church in the Dominion and which resulted in the present ecclesiastical system established." In speaking further of this work in its extent he said, "How much then is he a benefactor who has been instrumental in turning the thoughts of a young friend into a channel which has produced such blessings as have been conferred upon the colonial and Irish branches of the Church of CHRIST by our synodical system copied in great measure for the Church in the United States."

The new Rector in Buffalo soon became a felt power for good in the city and was identified with all the public interests of the growing town. He was chosen the first President of the Young Men's Association in 1835, which

is to-day a most popular and flourishing institution. In 1843 he was married to Mrs. Lucretia Grosvener of Geneva. He called their long married life an uninterrupted blessing. She was indeed a worthy help-meet and her death which preceded his just a year was a blow from which he never recovered.

The imposing Church building which was the Doctor's pride was begun by him in 1848 and was not fully completed until twenty years afterward. It is deservedly called his monument, for it was his indomitable perseverance and untiring energy which pushed it to success. One of the most notable events in his parochial life was the celebration of the fiftieth year of his continued pastorate. Distinguished friends from abroad, with his parishoners and fellow citizens met to do him honor, without distinction in creed or in social condition. The rich and poor offered their greeting and the members of the minister's meeting went in a body to pay their respect to the venerable Priest. Although so staunch a defender of the Faith and so severe in his denunciation of what he believed heresy, he never failed to have the honor and esteem of those who differed from him. Dr. Shelton was a member of the General Convention in 1841 and after an interregnum of some years continued to represent his Diocese until the last session in 1880.

From the beginning of Geneva, now Hobart College, he was a Trustee and warm supporter of the institution. His correspondence shows a laborious interest in its behalf and the letters from Bishop De Lancey indicate the commanding position he held in relation to its affairs. He received his degree of D.D. from this institution. His letters from his Bishop show also the warm friendship between them and his earnest effort to sustain the work of his beloved diocesan.

From a letter from Judge de Veaux it seems the Doctor was the confidant and adviser of the Judge in the original scheme for De Veaux College, and throughout his active ministry he continued to be zealously engaged for its well being.

Nashotah was also a favorite with Dr. Shelton and

the letters from Dr. Breck and the others early associated with the mission, connect him with its beginning as an ardent supporter. His thoughts however continued to dwell about his Alma Mater—the General Seminary and his affection grew stronger with his advancing years. This is not to be wondered at when we read the letters from those who were with him then expressive of their devoted attachment to each other and their Professors. Certainly the value of the work which that school has wrought for the welfare of the Church in this land cannot be over estimated. Every summer the Doctor made a pilgrimage to his ancestral home in Bridgeport for rest and recuperation, and during his last illness he often spoke of going home. He felt he must see the old parsonage again. He was not disappointed for through the kindly care of friends he was enabled to make the journey comfortably, and left Buffalo July 23d, 1883. Here, in the house in which he was born eighty-five years before, he died on the eleventh of October, 1883.

The best word which expresses the character of Dr. Shelton is strength. Robust in body, he was also robust in thought. This strength of character was manifest in all he said and did. It impressed itself upon every person or work with which he was connected. Such a strong man must have made his virtues prominent. It produced an integrity which was unqualified. Every one said, He is an honest man. Such a strong character could not help but show faults as prominently, for he could not under any circumstances be a dissembler. He was essentially a true man. These faults of his temperament are forgotten in the remembrance of the righteousness which filled out his life. He was large hearted and unboundedly generous. Since his death the statements are shown which make him dispense one-third of his entire income in certain years for charity and other pious works. One peculiarity of his temperament was to be easily depressed and discouraged, but the rebound would follow with increased power and hope. He was not very self-dependent but modest and humble-minded. He distrusted his own powers, but when his abilities were de-

manded, discharged his public duties fearlessly and with usual success. His Bishop to whom he was sincerely and tenderly attached (the present diocesan) preached his memorial sermon in the Cathedral Church on the evening of All Saints' Day and chose for his text "Behold now is in this city a man of GOD and he is an honorable man." No more befitting words as applied to the life and character of the Rev. Dr. Shelton could have been chosen. We wish we had the space for an extended extract from this sermon. The Bishop said, "In my missionary duties going to and fro in the adjoining towns and among acquaintances, every where I heard his name as a house-hold word, \*\*\*\*\* A Shelton in every American town would be salt to the nation." The love of his parishoners was constant and fervent as was his for them, and his dying words were greetings for them. At his death the Vestry took entire charge of his funeral, and receiving his remains on their arrival in Buffalo, placed them in the Church where they lay reverently guarded until the service on Sunday afternoon of Oct. 14. It is estimated that 3,000 persons passed through the aisles of the Church to look once more on the face they had known so long, and it was noticed that the poor made up a large part of the throng.

The Rector and nine of the clergy were present at the burial service which was most solemn. The large choir of men and women united with the surplice choir of men and boys, the latter preceding the funeral procession into the Church. The whole city seemed moved on the occasion and as the cortege moved through the streets many people were gathered on the sidewalks reverently interested in the funeral of this well known father in the Church. The address at the funeral was made by the Rector who is the immediate successor of Dr. Shelton.

JOHN W. BROWN.

## THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES AND THE DECREASE OF THE MINISTRY.

WITHIN the last thirty years two phenomena have shown themselves side by side. Theological Seminaries have been multiplied, and the proportion of candidates for the Ministry has steadily decreased. Is it a case of "Goodwin Sands and Tenterden steeple," or is there the relation of cause and effect between these two things?

Let us first get the facts before us. Last year there were ordained in our Church 109; died, 56; deposed, 10; retired or superannuated (circ.) 15; leaving a net increase of 28. *That is about one Clergyman for every two Dioceses, and nobody for a Missionary.* The same year the number of communicants increased 13,000. That is to say, for every Deacon ordained last year there was waiting somewhere in the Church a congregation of 500 communicants.

There are now in the Church about 300 candidates for Orders, 250 of them are in seminaries. In the General Seminary, 100. In Berkeley Divinity School, 40. At Alexandria, 40. The other 70 are distributed among *fourteen different seminaries.* That is to say, there are, on an average, five students in each school. To teach these seventy students there are engaged, (not counting the Bishops), more than fifty Clergymen. In other words, there is a Professor for every one and one-third students.

The amount of *money invested* in our seminaries is near \$6,000,000. At four per cent, the cost to the Church is, \$1,000 a year for the teaching and lodging of each student. This does not include the revenue from individual gifts for the current expenses of the schools, or the gifts

to the various "societies for the increase of the Ministry" toward the support of the students—two-thirds of whom are aided by the Church's bounty. This then, is the state of the case: there are *nineteen* "Seminaries;" they hold \$6,000,000 of the Church's property; they withdraw *seventy* Priests from the legitimate work of the Ministry to act as "Professors;" they have within their walls 250 students; they do not teach them satisfactorily, and they are growing to have fewer and fewer students to teach. One of them, with comfortable, not to say luxurious accommodation for fifty students has within its walls only five.

It is worse than idle to shut our eyes to the fact that something is seriously wrong.

At the Church Congress in 1881, the question of the education of the Ministry was discussed at length by some of the most thoughtful men in the Church. It was generally assumed that the seminary system had failed in both quantity and quality of teaching. Various ways of bettering it were suggested.

In all their discussions they allowed, as I most heartily do now, that the men who hold the position of instructors are earnest and godly. (I make a point of this, for I have been unfortunate sometimes in gaining the ill will of men while criticizing a system.)

The Rev. Dr. Ewer urged that there should be added to the present curriculum a training in Casuistry, so as to fit for work in the Confessional box which the "Catholic Movement" had made a necessity.

The Rev. President Eliot emphasized the fact that *character* is the great desideratum; that this is evidently independent of any method of technical instruction; and that there was grave danger, if the thing had not been already done, of degrading character by the custom of giving students pecuniary support.

The Rev. Mr. Donald complained that in the system of seminary training, spiritual education, the one thing needful, is practically lost sight of.

The Rev. Mr. Parks charged that the teaching is insufficient and cowardly in that it ignores and shirks whole

domains of questionings which are sure to face the Priest when he begins his work.

The Rev. Dr. Fairbairn stood up for the seminaries in an *ad captandum* argument.

Dr. Shattuck put in a very sensible plea for a due proportion of practical with the theoretical training.

Bishop Elliot spoke some snapping common sense to the purport that pretty much all that is really worth knowing must either be learned after one leaves the seminary, or independent of its teaching while he is in it.

Bishop Paddock vindicated the seminaries as they are, and the system of charitable aid to students as it now exists.

The whole discussion indicated a deep-rooted disaffection at the current method of dealing with the matter of recruiting our Ministry. This, and kindred subjects have occupied a prominent place in the thought of the Church for the last twenty years. It is now very near that stage when a general discussion and a definite action will be imperative.

In 1853, under the leadership of Dr. Muhlenberg, a memorial was submitted to General Convention, begging for action upon three subjects: (1) concerning Liturgical liberty; (2) concerning the training of the Ministry; (3) concerning the reunion of Protestant Christendom. This petition was signed by such names as Drs. Muhlenberg, Harwood, Bedell, Vinton, Howe, Hobart and Coxe. The first of their three prayers only found its answer in the report of the Committee on Liturgical Enrichment to the General Convention of 1883. The second is now the most imperious problem before the Church. There are indications in more than one quarter that the third is looming up.

The heart of the Church is heavy to-day at the pitiful cry of her unemployed Clergy. Her conscience is uneasy in face of the fact that fewer and fewer of her sons seek the Priest's office. Of course explanations without number may be given for this state of things; but the trouble with the explanations is, that they do not explain. The skepticism—the materialism—the secularization of

the age—the open avenues to worldly honors and profit—all these are beside the point. These things have always existed. With these reasons, as such, the Church has nothing to do. When the time comes that they do not exist the millennium will be so well advanced that there will be little need for the ministry of reconciliation. The truth is, that heretofore the applicants for the Ministry have been most numerous and most devoted at those times when the world was most hostile. The Church herself is to blame for the lack. The fault is partly in spirit and partly in method. As to spiritual fault it is unbecoming to speak. Vicious methods however, are fair subjects of criticism. The root-vides of our system of recruiting the Ministry seem to be these two:

(1) *The power to choose candidates is an inherent right of the Episcopate, but has been usurped by the Standing Committee.*

(2) *The rightful place of training for the Priesthood is the Diaconate; but this place has been usurped by the Theological Seminary.*

These two things will bear pondering. There is a legitimate place in the Church for both Seminary and Standing Committee—but not the place they now hold.

I. One of the ugliest things in the Church is the way the Episcopate allows itself to be put upon. It is too ready to accept obeisance instead of obedience. It is content with the shadow and gives up the substance. The Bishop is treated with profound reverence—and disobeyed. Such pranks are not played with the Standing Committee. That grim body is fateful.

Our Church is practically composed of Bishops, Priests and Laymen. The Priests and Laity have joined hands and conduct its affairs. The Bishop has become largely ornamental and the Deacon has vanished.

Nowhere else in the whole Church Catholic has the right of the Bishop to choose out fit persons for the Ministry been questioned, save only in our American Church. Here he has no such power. The Canonical course of procedure in the case of a candidate for Orders, rendered into plain language from Title I of the Digest is this.



When a man thinks of "studying for the Ministry" he is first to consult his Rector. If the Rector thinks well of it he can go to the Bishop. If the Rector does not think well of it, he can go to the Bishop all the same.

Upon his arrival the Bishop is instructed to ask him (1) whether he has ever applied elsewhere; (2) whether he is ready to pass his examinations; (3) where and when he was Baptised, Confirmed and received his first Communion. If he is able to answer all these inquiries satisfactorily, the Bishop is Canonically required—to make a note of this fact. That is all. At this stage the Canon declares that in the absence of a Bishop the Standing Committee can do it all just as well.

But now the real business of the young man commences. Up to this point he has been a "Postulant," occupying a personal relation toward the Bishop which the "practical" Standing Committee neither knows nor cares anything about. The Bishop may know him, and love him, and be fain to ordain him, but that goes for nothing. Now he must "apply to the Standing Committee for recommendation to the Bishop for admission as a candidate." To procure this recommendation he must lay before the Standing Committee a "testimonial" in terms prescribed. This testimonial must be signed by a Rector and Vestry, or by a Presbyter and four Laymen. If he does not bring this testimonial, the Canon is careful to say, the Standing Committee can receive him all the same. With the recommendation of the Standing Committee in his hand the young man goes to the Bishop again. The Canon assumes that the Bishop will obey the godly admonition of the Standing Committee in the premises, for at this point it requires that the Bishop *shall* require the young man to declare whether he intends to become a candidate for Priest's Orders, or for Deacon's only. If the latter, the Bishop may now accept him. If the former, the Bishop may not be trusted. He must inquire for the young man's diploma! If there is any doubt as to its sufficiency the Bishop is advised to submit it to the Standing Committee for consideration. If no diploma is forthcoming the young man

must be turned over to the Examining Chaplains. After all this the Bishop may,—not ordain him, but admit him to be a candidate for ordination at some future time. At this point the young man ordinarily goes to the seminary.

Now in all this process neither Bishop, Rector, nor Congregation have any power. It is practically a matter between the Standing Committee and the man who seeks the Ministry. Of course the Bishop has the right arbitrarily to refuse to receive or ordain. This is a prerogative, however, of no great value at a time when so few candidates apply. His field may be white to the harvest, but he can call no man to his aid without either taking him from some other's field, or else wait the pleasure of the Standing Committee.

Then, worse than all, the very qualities the possession of which makes a man valuable in a chief pastor's eyes are the very qualities which go for nothing in the judgment of the Standing Committee. Devotion is of less value than Greek. Good sense is rated below "soundness." The indispensable qualities for the Ministry cannot be ascertained by the Standing Committee at all. They can only become known to the Bishop in his quality of Chief Pastor. That a mixed committee of Clergy and Laymen, shall be the *only* body possessing the right to pass upon such questions is simply monstrous. The consequence is that at this moment it would literally be easier for a thief to enter our Ministry than for a man that is ignorant of Latin. It would be easier for a forger than for a man known to hold doctrine contrary to the opinions of the Standing Committee. The primitive plan was the best. "Look ye out from among you men of good report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom." The choice of the candidate by those who know him is the pledge of his character and of his gifts. His training for the higher Ministry is in the exercise of the lower. When he purchases to himself a good degree it will be given him. Of this only those can judge who are set over him in the

LORD. The Standing Committee is set over him by the General Convention. There is a difference

II. Now, instead of being made a Deacon at this point and set to work to prove his gifts, earning an honest livelihood the while at his desk or by his hammer, he is sent to the Seminary, and supported by the "Education Society." Our own Church and the Presbyterian are the only ones which follow this plan. The Roman Catholics have "Seminaries," to be sure, but they are entirely different things, and for a different purpose from ours. In the English Church, not one Clergyman in fifty has ever seen the inside of a seminary.

I have pointed out the cost, in money and in men of our method. This is the least of its evils. Not but what there is a place for the Divinity Schools—one or two of them. There is. But to maintain a school for exceptional cases and special purposes, is one thing. To make it the ordinary and almost inevitable place of training is quite another thing. An "educated" Clergy is very desirable. But the phrase is a most misleading one. It came into use when the course of training for all educated men was alike; the only difference in the case of the Clergy being that they were carried farther along in it. Now all that is changed. Some of the best educated men in this country, the men whose names stand highest in literature, and art and science, could not pass the preliminary examination of a candidate for Orders. But who will dare say they are uneducated? Who would not rejoice to have such men in our Ministry?

The assumption of the whole Scripture is, that men leave their nets, their professions, their business, their trades, to preach CHRIST's Gospel. With us this is virtually impossible. During the last General Convention one of the most eloquent and devoted of our Bishops made an address in my Church upon Domestic Missions. He closed with an impressive appeal to the men present, by their love of God and of their country to consider whether they might not, some of them at any rate, like S. Matthew, leave their counting houses, and become ambassadors of CHRIST. Now suppose one of them had taken

the Bishop at his word. He is a lawyer, a merchant, an engineer, a man of leisure. His standing in the community is high. He has shown by his success in business, his ability to deal with men and affairs. By his offer of himself he shows his devotion. He is forty years old, and has a family which he rules well. The Church is praying, "Lord send forth laborers into thy harvest." Here is a laborer ready. What does the Church say to him? She says: My dear brother, *it will take you five years at the very least to be able to pass the Standing Committee.* That is enough for him—and it ought to be enough. He turns away, and the Church goes again upon her knees and wails in solemn Litany, "LORD send forth laborers into thy harvest." Now set over against this the fact that four hundred Priests who possess precisely the learning in which our friend who turns sadly away is wanting, are "unemployed," and can hardly get their bread.

It is true that our Ministry ought to *have within it* a much more critical knowledge of Greek and Hebrew than it has; but it does not follow that the knowledge should be equally distributed among the Clergy. We need an "educated" and an "uneducated" Clergy. But by what right is the title of "educated" monopolized by those who have learned enough Greek and Hebrew to pass an examination—and then forgotten it?

The crying evil of our system is that it compels us to look for the recruits to our Ministry among boys and not among men. To enter our Ministry, seven years continuous preparation is necessary. That is, if a young man expects to be ordained at twenty-five, he must settle his vocation at eighteen. If the Ministry were simply a "profession," there would be no great harm in this. Other professions have, to a degree, the same exigency. But our office will not stand on that ground. It will be nothing but the devotion of a life to the interests of CHRIST'S Kingdom, and that devotion made after he knows what life is. With us, one must choose the Ministry when he is a boy, or stay out of it when he is a man. The only thing to do for the *man* who feels "woe

is me if I preach not the Gospel," is to become an irresponsible "Evangelist," like Mr. Moody, or a Sunday School Superintendent, or that nondescript thing, a "licensed Lay Reader." A "licensed Lay Reader!" The Church might as well license a man to breathe. To read and entreat is the inherent right of every Christian man which the Church did not give and cannot take away. The wisest of our Bishops have never adopted the habit of licensing "Lay Readers." Suppose a Layman does it without a "license," what is his Bishop or anybody else going to do about it? But the Ministry is closed against him. The "Standing Committee" stands across his path, obstructive, conservative, respectable—with a Canon in position.

We have well nigh lost sight of the true source in which the Priesthood is to be recruited and trained. The *Diaconate* ought to be in numbers, in the ratio of seven to one to the Priesthood. To-day we have 67 Bishops, 3,421 Priests and 142 Deacons. That is two Deacons and a third for each Diocese! These are only Deacons *en passant*. Most of them applied for Priests Orders originally, and simply "tarry in Jericho till their beards be grown." We have no Diaconate. As in Rome, the Pope has swallowed up the Bishops, so with us the Seminary and the Standing Committee between them have made away with the Deacon. We could have them by the hundred. In each one of a thousand Parishes there are two or three men at least, who, if they were ordained, could do well the precise work for which Deacons are intended. They could, and they would, be willing to superintend Sunday Schools. They would hold services and teach in outlying portions of the Parish. They would look after the poor and pray with the sick. In the absence of the Rector, they would conduct service in the Church or Chapel. They would be a connecting link and band of union between Priest and People. They would set free the Rector to give himself to the Word. If any among them show inclination and fitness for a high office the Priest will have sufficient acquaintance with them to advise them well, and sufficient

time to instruct them. He can at any rate instruct them so far that one year in the seminary will be sufficient instead of three. This would largely render unnecessary that most dangerous of necessary evils, charitable aid to students for the Ministry. This is a delicate subject to touch, but none will question this much; that, while an honorable man, may, without shame, take aid from a brother who knows him, and to whom he can feel gratitude, yet he cannot, without danger, be supported by a society to which he neither can nor does feel grateful. In the former case he will relieve himself from the debt as soon as he can. In the other case he will get as much as he can, and pay it back as late as he can. As a Deacon in a Parish he would not want, and the gifts would not injure him. As a student in a distant seminary it is, to put it mildly, doubtful. None will deny that "learning" costs too much if it be secured at the risk of manliness.

What is to hinder? The Standing Committee. The system we have fallen into is familiar. It is entrenched. It is "safe." It seems to secure a "learned" Clergy. But when it shall be discovered that this institutional training does not insure an efficient pulpit or a wise pastorate; that it is too costly; that it shuts the door of the Ministry in the faces of men whom we would thankfully see at our Altars—then the Episcopate may pluck up courage and demand of the Standing Committee its usurped rights, and the Church be willing to exchange seventeen of our nineteen seminaries for at least seventeen Deacons.

S. D. Mc CONNELL.

## THE PROPOSED PRAYER BOOK IN THE CONVENTION OF 1886.

ONE hardly likes to break a lance with so good a Churchman and so excellent a lawyer as Mr. Nash; yet even the good Homer sometimes nods, and it is conceivable that Mr. Nash may be mistaken. Indeed we think he is, and we propose to say briefly why we think so.

Mr. Nash, in his thoughtful article on the duties of the General Convention in relation to the Prayer Book, raised the question whether an amendment adopted by one General Convention must be ratified or rejected without alteration by another, or whether the second Convention has authority to alter it. He thinks that it has. We do not. The words of the Constitution appear to us to be plain and positive. "No alteration or addition shall be made in the Book of Common Prayer, unless the same shall be proposed in one General Convention and adopted at the subsequent General Convention." The learned gentleman, whose words are well worthy of respectful consideration, thinks that this direction is sufficiently complied with by "the substantial concurrence of two successive Conventions in the authorization of them," *i. e.*, proposed changes in the Prayer Book. We regret very much that we are not able to agree with him. We apprehend that he has been misled by allowing himself to use the word "substantial". We may be dull, but we confess that the meaning of this word is not very clear to our mind. It seems to us that a "substantial concurrence" may be an agreement in the thought but not in the words of a proposition; or it may be an agreement in only such parts of it as may be believed to be material. The word "substantial," certainly

does not occur in the Constitution and we are unable to find any thought which warrants the employment of it. On the contrary it seems to us that the Constitution requires an absolute concurrence. The alteration or addition which is adopted in the second General Convention must be "the same" that was proposed in the first. It must be actually identical with it, not merely like it; but substantial agreement can produce only resemblance and not identity. The learned gentleman may be right, though we can see no reason to think that he is. We may be allowed to express our regret that he has not supported his proposition by reasoning or evidence, but has confined himself to illustrations. His illustrations, however, do not strike us as very happy. They seem to illustrate the convenience rather than the correctness of his view; and we must confess that they have not removed from our mind the impression that the wisest course for the General Convention to pursue will be to adhere to the letter of its Constitution.

To give an illustration of substantial concurrence, imaginary indeed, but, upon the whole, as instructive as that of Mr. Nash. We will suppose that the trustees of a college, wishing to practice economy, and to lay up a little money, but apparently having grave doubts of their power to control their inclinations to extravagance, pass a self-denying ordinance, by which, after settling a schedule of expenses they bind themselves not to adopt any resolution involving further expenditure until it should have been passed at two meetings of their board. Under this wise rule the college prospers and grows rich. We can further imagine this college after it had made every possible provision for the enrichment of the minds of its students taking thought for the wants of their bodies. The trustees accordingly pass a resolution to establish a lunch room, and appropriate, we will say, \$500 to fit it up. At the second meeting, however, it is found that this sum is inadequate, and the resolution is amended by substituting \$1,000. Here is undoubtedly substantial concurrence. Every body is agreed that a lunch room is a very good and necessary thing, and that it



must be paid for. The precise amount to be paid is a very trifling consideration. Nevertheless, we fear that the treasurer, when the bills come in, will, in the most hard-hearted manner refuse to pay them, upon the ground that the resolutions are not the same, but entirely different ones, and that one of them must be adopted at a subsequent meeting, and the other rejected. The simple truth is that "substantial concurrence" is so vague and shadowy a thing that the less any one has to do with it the better. There are, besides, real and serious dangers connected with it. If the General Convention follows the plain directions of its Constitution, and adopts or rejects, without debate, if possible, but certainly without alteration, some or all of the amendments to the Prayer Book which it approved at its last meeting, it will undoubtedly be acting within its powers, and everybody will accept its work. If, however, it proceed to revise and alter them, it will be assuming a power which is at the best doubtful, and it is by no means certain that the Church will approve its action. For it should be borne in mind that the General Convention is not like a legislature which can enforce its orders by pains and penalties. Its acts, like those of a council, must rest ultimately upon the consent of the Church, *i.e.*, the whole body of Bishops, Priests and Laity; and if they disapprove of them they will not accept them, and cannot be forced to do so. That this is no imaginary danger may be shown by a couple of illustrations. When the General Convention attempted to make the use of a hymnal compulsory, it was immediately pointed out that the right of setting forth hymns was not one of the powers that were given to it in the 8th or any other Article of its Constitution, and that it had theretofore recognized that fact, by carefully abstaining from doing more than approving of a certain collection of hymns. The consequence of this attempt to exercise a power which was, to say the least, doubtful, has been that, notwithstanding the persevering attempts that have been made to force a hymnal upon the Church, it has not been found possible, in thirteen years to bring it into universal use. Before the Canon

of Marriage and Divorce was passed we had a clear and definite guide to the mind of the Church upon those subjects. The Marriage Service absolutely forbids divorce under any circumstances whatever; the Canon seems to recognize it. The Prayer Book says that man may not put asunder those whom GOD has joined together; the Canon says that he may. Of course they contradict each other. The consequence is that the more careful Clergy and Laity, obey the Prayer Book and disregard the Canon. The further consequence is that the Convention, if it exceed its powers, does run the risk of bringing itself into contempt; even the acts of a General Council have no authority until they are accepted by the Church; and it is hardly to be expected that the Church will allow a Convention, which is its servant and not its master, to assume powers that have not been intrusted to it, or about which there can be the slightest doubt.

While we are ready to admit, with Mr. Nash, that there may be a great and reasonable desire for the improvement of the Prayer Book, we do not think that the work of the last General Convention ought to be received as final, even if it were possible to remove its blemishes and imperfections. Some of these are of a character that it is impossible to remove.

We do not wish to criticise the proposed alterations and additions, but only to make good our words that they are not a finished work; we may, perhaps, be permitted to point out two or three mistakes or omissions. There can be no excuse for the proposal to substitute other anthems for the *Venite* on any day but Easter. A provincial Church has no right to abandon universal usages. On Easter day, indeed, the fullness of joy has come and there can be no words to greet the King, except "CHRIST is Risen;" but every other day is a looking forward to that Resurrection, and the wisdom of the universal Church has from the very beginning daily adored CHRIST in those wonderful words of His father David. It is true that the *Venite*, in the *bald* form in which it is sung in the English Church, without invitatories, and still more in the mutilated form in which we have it, loses

very much of its force and beauty, but the remedy is easy. It is simply to restore the invitatories. This will make it evident at once how capable the *Venite* is of adapting itself to the varying seasons of the year. The rubric shortening Morning Prayer is defective. It would be far better to sweep away everything before the LORD's Prayer and to begin "In the Name, etc.," but if this cannot be done, provision should be made for omitting all before the LORD's Prayer and after the third collect, including the Litany, whenever the Holy Communion is to follow Morning Prayer. This is a necessity which is felt more and more every day. The old tradition of the English Church is reviving, and men are learning that the real Sunday Service is Morning Prayer and Holy Communion. We would go further, and would recommend the omission of the Commandments and Summary with its Collect, whenever the Communion Service follows Morning Prayer, and the substitution for them of the Introit and the *Kyrie Eleison*, the latter of course in Greek, according to the general usage of the Western Churches. The crying want of the present day is a manageable Sunday Morning service. People now-a-days resort to all sorts of expedients to obtain one. Some are commendable, but some are the reverse. Perhaps the very *worst* of all is the singing the Litany as an introduction to the Communion Service. Indeed if the use of the Litany on Sundays were abolished altogether it would be a great gain.

We will also mention a proposal which appears to us to be singularly useless, we mean the rubric which it is proposed to add at the end of the Communion Service directing that there shall always be two or three to communicate with the Priest. This is a modification of three rubrics in the English Prayer Book which depend upon each other. It is hardly worth while to quote the precise words, but the directions are that all who intend to communicate shall give previous notice to the Priest, and that, unless three persons give such notice, he shall end the service with the prayer for the Church Militant. There is no reason to think that these rubrics were ever

observed. In point of fact, they were found to be impracticable and have long been obsolete. The first and last were removed from our own Book, to the great comfort of Clergy and Laity. We are unable to see any object in restoring the last without the first, and we are confident that it would be a dead letter, simply because the Priest would have no means of knowing before-hand who, or how many, intend to communicate. As matters stand, it is usual for the Priest, if there be two people beside himself in Church, to begin and of course to finish the service. The revival of this obsolete rubric could not change this custom, and would be simply useless for any purpose whatever.

We think that we have said enough to show that the proposed revision is not a finished work, and we do honestly think that the wisest course will be to review it, as Mr. Nash proposes, in the next General Convention, but not to take final action for at least three years more. Let the subject be studied for the next three years; let the grace of God work in men's hearts, and in all probability, they will desire in 1886 something far better than is offered to them now. In the meanwhile let us wait in patience. Six years are but a little while in the life of CHRIST'S Church.

For our own part, we have not taken much interest in the idea of revision; for, like most "Ritualists," as it pleases some of our friends to call us, we have never had any difficulty about teaching, and, to the best of our ability, practising the true Christian Religion with the help of the present Book. In fact the present Prayer Book has never had a fair chance and has never been used in its entirety. It contains more than has ever been brought out of it, for which we are indebted to the time of Edward the VI, and to the imperfectly instructed revisors of the last century, but altogether it is an admirable Book. We are willing, however, to encourage and approve the work of revision. We only ask that it may be deliberate and intelligent.

BEVERLEY R. BETTS.

## SAINT ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY.

“Once I sat on a crimson throne,  
And I held the world in fee;  
Below me I heard my brother's moan;—  
And bent me down to see.  
Lovingly bent and looked on them,  
But I had no inward pain;  
I sat in the heart of my ruby gem,  
Like a rainbow without the rain.  
My throne is vanished; helpless I lie  
At the foot of its broken stair:  
And the sorrows of all humanity  
Through my heart make a thoroughfare.”

**I**N this cold, critical century of unbelief, it is almost impossible for us to understand the spirit of the Middle Ages. We read of the wonderful self denial, of the great religious enthusiasm, and of that remarkable benevolence, which scorned not to minister to the lowest and most repugnant of God's creatures; we read of a singleness of faith, that could interpret literally all the precepts of the Gospel, and that could inspire one to abandon luxury and ease, wealth and plenty, and live, severed from earthly ties of affection, a life full of peace, prayer and good deeds. We read of a zeal for CHRIST's honor that prompted thousands to encounter sufferings, famine and death, in order to rescue from the profanation of the infidels, His Holy Sepulchre, which they deemed so sacred. We hear of these things and smile, and murmur, “misguided zeal, misdirected faith, pitiable fanaticism, precepts misunderstood:” and then, compare our regulated charities, our orderly enterprises, our calm and collected reasoning powers, with the wild enthusiasm and the heroic love of the people of mediaeval times,

and place our attainments far above theirs. It is true that the Church has indeed made progress in the centuries that have elapsed between their age and ours; yet that grand spirit of self-denial and self-abnegation, that mighty spirit of benevolence she seems in a measure to have lost. The Middle Ages required the zeal, power, and fanaticism they possessed, and our nineteenth century, we say, needs not such demonstrative careers; but, truly, it does need more of the simple faith, more of the loving charity, and more of the spirit of self-denial, which marked such characters as Francis of Assisi, Margaret of Scotland, Elizabeth of Hungary, and scores of others whose impressive lives are indeed worthy of emulation. Francis of Assisi was said to be mad, Savonarola to be deranged by success and flattery, and Elizabeth of Hungary to be demented because she lavished her wealth upon the poor; but they cared not for the imputation, since the same harsh judgment fell upon their Master, to whom the Jews said, "Thou hast a devil."

For the requirements of each age GOD raises up such men and women as are needed for instruments in his all-wise plans, and when they have fulfilled His will, they pass away, and others of a different type come forth to carry into effect new purposes. Therefore we cannot say, the Christians now are intrinsically better than those of other ages, only that they are different.

The career of Elizabeth of Hungary was but a brief one, yet it contained the perfection of earthly happiness, and the greatest suffering and destitution which we can imagine. In less than twenty-five years she was a happy bride, a beloved queen, and a joyful mother; then a broken hearted widow, a beggar driven forth from her own palace into the streets with four helpless children; after that, a few years of self-denial and toil for God's poor were granted; then death came to end her short life; and thus in less than a quarter of a century, she had experienced all that life can offer of joy and grief, and was at rest. One cannot be ignorant of Elizabeth's failings, though they all leaned to virtue's side, and were

only the errors of a too sympathetic and loving heart, errors which are seldom met with in these days. Yet, all her bounty to the poor, though perhaps unwise, never really injured her husband's kingdom, but was, as he always thought, a great source of blessings to the people of his realm. The life of Elizabeth is historically true; and, though it reads like a romance, the facts can all be relied upon, and are easily distinguished from the fanciful legends which an imaginative people wove around her saintly deeds, some of which, as the "Legend of the Roses," are told and believed by the Protestants of that country to-day.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, Herman, the Landgrave of Thuringia and Count of Saxony, was advised by a necromancer, Klingsohr by name, to demand of Andrew II., king of Hungary, his little daughter Elizabeth, as a wife for his son Lewis. Pleased with this counsel, Herman sent an embassy of lords and ladies, bearing rich gifts, to the Hungarian Court, to present the request in behalf of his son. Among them was the noted Bertha of Beindeleben and Lord Varila. They were received with honor, and the request being granted, three days were spent in feasting and merry-making; then the beautiful child of four years, clad in a robe richly embroidered in gold and silver, was brought, in an elegant cradle of solid gold, and given to Lord Varila, to whom her father said, "I confide her to your knightly honor." The lord accepted the trust, and never was anything but friendly to the little princess. Andrew sent rare presents, which he had obtained from Constantinople, to the Landgrave of Thuringia. To Elizabeth he gave the rich cradle, a bath, twelve maidens, and provided an income for her, suitable for the daughter of a king. Then the train of knights and ladies set forth on their journey homeward.

Upon reaching Herman's Court the little princess was solemnly betrothed to Lewis, who was then eleven, and they were brought up together as brother and sister, such being the custom of the age. They grew in per-

fect love and devotion to each other, deeming even a short separation a great trial.

From her earliest years Elizabeth manifested great sympathy for the poor; spending her own income when but a mere child, for their wants. She even went to the pantries and kitchens of the royal household and begged broken food to supply the needs of the hungry, until the little princess was looked upon as a nuisance by the cooks and maids of the culinary department. Herman, her future father-in-law, loved her tenderly, but his wife Sophia and the princess Agnes despised Elizabeth, and reproached her for loving her Hungarian maid and condemned her for her rare piety. While Prince Herman lived they were obliged to keep their jealous feelings under restraint, but after his death, which occurred when Elizabeth was nine, they gave full vent to the animosity they had been obliged to hold in check. They treated her with such undisguised contempt that even the servants began to look upon her as an interloper, unworthy of respect. So among all the people of the Court, the princess had but two friends, Lewis her betrothed, and Lord Varila. Her young lover was now really Sovereign, but, not having reached an age where he could have full power, the government was for the present in other hands. Unmoved by the insinuations of his mother, sister and courtiers against his betrothed, he ever remained true to his love for her, and firmly resolved to marry her as soon as possible. Whenever he was obliged to be absent from the Court, he always brought a token of his love home to Elizabeth; sometimes a cross, or purse, a rare string of beads, or a piece of choice jewelry; whatever it was, she received it with joy, and the young man would hold the little girl in his arms and tell her of his tender love for her. Still her enemies insisted that the young man would never marry her, and some even taunted her to the face in regard to it. One day Lord Varila fearing that Lewis might renounce his bride, found opportunity to confer with him alone upon the subject thus: "May it please you to answer a question I shall put to you?"



Having received permission to speak, he continued:

“Do you mean to marry the Lady Elizabeth I brought to you, or will you send her back to her father?” Pointing towards a mountain that rose before them, Lewis replied: “Seest thou this hill before us? If it was of pure gold from the base to the summit, and if the whole of it should belong to me on the condition of sending back mine Elizabeth, I would never do it. Let the world think and say of her what it likes; I say this, I love her, and I love nothing more. I will have mine Elizabeth.”

These words when repeated to the little maiden, gave her great happiness.

In 1218 when Lewis had attained his nineteenth year he was dubbed knight, and the following year he was married to Elizabeth who was then thirteen years of age. The wedding was celebrated with great splendor, and the festivities lasted for days. The young couple were remarkable for their beauty. Lewis was of splendid physique, with long fair hair and brilliant complexion. Elizabeth, though but a child, was tall, with raven black hair, a clear dark complexion, and graceful and pleasing manners. They were radiantly happy in their love for each other. So holy were their lives that “Angels abode with them.” Their piety did not suffer by their devotion, for each stimulated the other to stronger faith and nobler deeds. Lewis was a man of great piety, and loved to converse with monks, and sought the society of good and religious men. His love for the poor, though kept within the bounds of moderation, was equal to that of his wife, and while sympathetic and gentle, he was at the same time full of knightly prowess and valor. The austerities and self-imposed penances of Elizabeth were severe, yet outwardly she was gay and girlish. She appeared in costly dress at the public festivities, and danced, played and sung with the other ladies, for she saw no harm in such innocent amusements, since her heart was really placed on higher and better things. Once when richly attired, with a crown of gold upon her head, she went into the Church at Eismach; but when

she knelt down and raised her eyes to the large crucifix, and saw the tender gaze of her Master fixed upon her, from beneath the crown of thorns, the contrast between His sufferings and her own gay attire was so apparent, that she fainted away, overcome by devout emotion. From that time she avoided rich attire, never appearing in it, except when necessity compelled her, or her husband required it. Elizabeth's love for her husband was so great that she accompanied him on all journeys when she was permitted to do so, regardless of inclement weather or any other hardship. When obliged to remain at home she dressed in deep mourning, and lived in retirement until his return. Extravagant as was her love for him it did not exceed his devotion to her. While others remonstrated with him upon the lavish bounty of his young wife, he only smiled, and deemed no favor she asked too great to be granted. Her devotion to the poor increased as she grew older, and she gave away all the money she could obtain, and even sold her rich dresses and mantle to procure more. Lepers whom all shunned but the truly devout, were her especial charge, and she ministered to them with her own hands. A legend relates that once finding a leprous child whom none would care for, she bathed it herself and laid it in her own bed. Her husband was amazed upon hearing of it and hastened to her room to remonstate, but as he gazed upon the child, he beheld only a sweet babe, and as he still looked it vanished from his sight. Then he knew it was the Christ-child, for He said :

“ Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my little ones, ye have done it unto me.”

When Lewis found how she really longed to assist the lepers, he allowed her to build a hospital for them at the foot of the hill where the Castle of Wartburg was situated, and thus many poor outcasts were cared for.

In the year 1226 Lewis was obliged to go to Italy with the Emperor Frederick II., and while absent a famine arose in Germany, and was particularly severe in Thuringia. The poor suffered intensely, dying by hundreds in the streets. The treasury contained over sixty thousand

florins, and all this Elizabeth distributed among the needy; she opened the granaries of the State and donated the corn and wheat, and ordered loaves of bread to be baked every day and given to those who came for them. When Lewis heard of the suffering in his domain he obtained permission to return home. As he entered Wartburg, the officers met him and complained of his wife's prodigality, hoping that he would be indignant at her lavish expenditure. But displeased with murmurs, he exclaimed: "Is my dear wife well? What care I about the rest? Alms will never ruin us."

Their meeting was joyful after so long a separation, and Lewis uttered no word of complaint to the young girl, but only asked how the poor had fared in his absence, and she made the memorable answer: "See, I have given to God what was His, and He has preserved to us what was thine and mine."

A most happy married life had been granted to Elizabeth and Lewis for seven years; no quarrel had ever molested their peace; three beautiful children brightened their domestic life, and in the little Herman, not then four years old, they saw the future Landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse. To Elizabeth no cloud dimmed the horizon of their joy, for to her bright anticipations there lay an unbroken vista of years of happiness as wife and mother. But how different to these bright hopes would the stern reality of the future be!

In the eleventh century the world had been fired by the enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit; since then there had been several Crusades led forth to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, and still another was planned for the year 1227. Devout a Christian as Lewis was, he felt that he was called upon to do his share in the Holy War; thus, without the knowledge of his wife, he took the *Red Cross*, and so vowed to enter the lists. He dared not tell Elizabeth of the long separation in prospect for them; but one evening as they sat together, she opened a bag which he wore suspended from a belt, and took out the fatal badge; her feelings overcame her and she fainted away. When she recovered she entreated him

to stay with her if it were possible, but when he plainly showed her that it was a solemn vow which he had made, and that it must be fulfilled, she, too, saw the necessity and gave him up to GOD. Elizabeth went with him on his journey as far as she was able, going even two days' march beyond her own dominions. At length the kind Lord Varila said that it was best for her to return, and she and her beloved Lewis parted with each other for this life. She returned sad and lonely to her castle, and clothed herself in the garb of mourning, while a fearful presentiment forced its way into her heart. Soon after this Lewis died in Calabria, in the arms of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This fact was kept from Elizabeth until her fourth babe was old enough, for her to hear the sad news. Tenderly did the once cruel Sophia try to break the news to her son's wife finally saying :

"Oh! my dear daughter, be patient and take this ring which he has sent you; for, to our woe, he is dead."

"Madam," cried Elizabeth, springing up, "what do you say?" Sophia repeated the ominous words. "Oh! LORD, my GOD! LORD my GOD!" exclaimed Elizabeth, "Behold the world is dead for me; the world and all its pleasures."

She flew frantically from room to room, and from one corridor to another moaning and weeping. In vain the ladies of the Court tried to comfort her, but she cried aloud: "I have lost all. O, my beloved brother! O, the friend of my heart, thou hast died and left me in misery. Ah! poor lonely widow that I am; may He who forsakes not widows and orphans comfort me. O, my JESUS, support me in my weakness."

Lewis had been more than a husband to Elizabeth; he was the friend of her childhood, a brother and lover at the same time; and as some has said, "She loved him with all the tenderness of a saint, and all the weakness of a woman." Her soul was knit with his, and his death was like the severing of one heart. But this was not all that was in store for her. Her friend and counselor Lord Varila, who had promised Lewis to protect his wife and children even with his life, was journeying slowly

homeward with the precious remains, and so she had no one to defend her. Her brothers-in-law ordered her to leave the Castle, and no entreaties of Sophia even, could ameliorate the harsh sentence. On a cold day in mid-winter, Elizabeth was turned out of her own mansion, accompanied only by two maids. In her arms she carried her young infant, and the other three children followed, the oldest only four, in the charge of the two servants. It was a pitiful sight. She, a Princess, who befriended all, was now without a friend; alone a widow in the heartless world. Not a door was opened to her, for the cruel Conrad and Henry forbade any to receive her. It is said that the poor whom she had helped even came out and mocked her. Upon reaching an inn she refused to proceed, saying that was free to all. But the landlord dared only assign her a shelter under the roof of his stable. Some friend offered to take charge of the children, and she and her maids tried to earn a living by spinning wool. As soon as her own relatives heard of her distress they offered help immediately, and she went first to a Convent where her aunt was the Superior. Then an uncle, Bishop and Prince of Bamberg, gave her a home at the Castle of Botterstein, where she once more gathered her children around her. As she was still so young, not yet being twenty, her uncle desired her to marry Frederick the Emperor, who was eager to obtain her hand; but Elizabeth had loved too sincerely ever to desire a husband in the place of Lewis, and so declined the royal offer, and laying her wedding dress upon the altar she proclaimed her vow which she had voluntarily made to Lewis, never to marry should he chance to die first. While at Botterstein the retainers passed through with the remains of her idolized husband. The casket was opened, and as she gazed upon the precious form, she prayed thus:

“I give Thee thanks, O Lord, for having granted my wish of beholding again the remains of my beloved, who was also Thine. He had offered himself, and I had offered him to Thee. I regret it not, even though I loved him with all the might of my heart. Thou knowest that

I would have been glad to beg with him from door to door, merely for the pleasure of being with him, if Thou had'st permitted. But now I would not if I could, purchase back his life with one hair of my head, unless it were thy will, O, my God."

Lord Varila was indignant at the treatment Elizabeth had received, and soon brought about a different arrangement of affairs. The rights of little Herman were recognized, and Conrad only reigned until the prince became of age. The town of Marburg with its revenues was given to Elizabeth as her right. Immediately upon establishing herself she founded a hospital, and devoted her income wholly to the support of the poor; for her own living she spun fine wool, for which she could readily find a market. Her life here in Marburg was one of great self-denial and holiness; yet one cannot but regret that she gave herself up so wholly to the direction of her Priest Conrad. It is true that in many instances his commands were salutary; he put a stop to her harsh physical penances, and forbade her to give away but one farthing at a time. Though harsh and stern to his fair penitent, he had stood between her and many enemies, and doubtless shielded her from many insults. When twenty-four a fever seized the saintly Elizabeth, and in a few days the fatal work was completed. During her illness she sung sweet hymns and died radiantly happy. The last word she uttered was "silence," as if she wished those around her to listen to the Celestial strains which already sounded in her ears. Hundreds crowded around the body of the deceased, to praise her deeds and extol her virtues, waiting not for any Ecclesiastical decree to proclaim her Saint. The noble Emperor whom she had declined to marry, placed on her brow a circlet of gold, saying, "Since I could not crown her living as my Empress, I will at least crown her to-day as an immortal Queen in the Kingdom of Heaven.

The old Castle of Wartburg lies in ruins; and the hospitals of her founding have passed away, or bear the names of others; but the little fountain of spring-water where her Leper's Home once stood, still remains, a

simple monument for one who had lived wholly for others. But her deeds are engraven on an immortal record, and the pure waters as they flow into the stone basin, are symbolical of the purity of her saintly life.

CAROLINE F. LITTLE.

## PREACHING WITHOUT NOTES.

NO one who rightly estimates the power of public speaking, especially in this country, can under-rate preaching as one of the functions of the Christian Ministry. A Clergyman is a public speaker—he is a preacher, though he is something more.

If, in his office as a preacher, he faithfully fulfills the trust committed to him by the Church, when she says, "Take thou authority to preach the word of GOD," he will exert a tremendous influence for good.

Every thoughtful Clergyman will often propound to himself the question: How can I perform to the best of my ability this part of my duty as a minister of CHRIST and a steward of the mysteries of GOD?

I do not undertake to give an answer to that question that is absolutely and exclusively true. But I shall aim to point out, especially to the younger Clergy, one way of preaching, that most men may pursue sometimes, and some men altogether, with profit to themselves and their congregations.

I have called it *preaching without notes*. By this I mean preaching, after proper preparation, without a written sermon before the eye or in the memory.

This definition excludes *memoriter* preaching as well as the reading of sermons; neither of which do I condemn, but simply leave them out of this discussion.

*I maintain, that the habit of preaching without manuscript—due study being understood—is useful to the clergyman who adopts it.*

It gives him a sort of mental training that is valuable. The memory is developed. It is gradually so disci-



plined that it readily recalls the train of thought that has been worked out before-hand, and supplies the speaker with appropriate phrases, illustrations and other materials for the sermon, while he is addressing the audience, that he has gathered, here and there, in all the past years of study, reading and observation. Many a practiced public speaker with his audience before him, remembers many things of value that he would never recall under any other circumstances. That the mind may easily remember what has been previously presented to it, attention must be practiced. So, closeness of observation and concentration of thought are cultivated by the man who must draw suddenly on his mental stores for what he says in public.

But even the best trained mind can not well reproduce an illogical discourse—one without order or arrangement.

The logical faculty must therefore be developed and sermons must be prepared with a proper consecution of ideas, with something like a rational organism, or the preacher will find it almost impossible to dispense with the manuscript.

The *act* of speaking without the exact form of expression before the eye or in the memory is a most complicated and difficult process. It comprehends rapid thinking, ready arrangement of the thoughts, quick command of language, proper control over the emotions, power to seize upon any unexpected circumstance and use it, thorough self-command in the presence of an audience that would naturally perturb the calmest mind.

The general on the field of battle, executing the plan that he has formed and modifying it as circumstances require, thinking and acting with celerity, promptness and courage, is hardly a more wonderful spectacle than the well-equipped, thoroughly skilled public speaker, who, without a note to guide him, marshals his forces and brings them to bear upon his audience, interesting, convincing and moving them at will. Preparation for such an effort and the effort itself make a man larger and stronger in the qualities of manhood. Other things be-

ing equal, the clergyman who possesses these qualities in the highest degree will do his work the best. Hence, an inestimable advantage of preaching without notes is seen in the culture that it gives the preacher.

*Its advantage with reference to the audience lies in its effectiveness.* It commands and holds the attention, reaches the understanding directly and affects the sensibilities as no other sort of preaching can do.

The direct look of the speaker into the uplifted faces of the hearers, the natural tones of the voice and expressions of the countenance, the simple, unconstrained manner and the unstudied language, better suited to the ear than a more labored and artificial style, all serve to take hold upon the mind.

Add to these elements of effectiveness the free play of the speaker's emotions, expressing themselves aptly, and we see some of the advantages possessed by this method of preaching.

But there is something behind all these readily recognized forces in the discourse delivered without aid of manuscript that helps to account for its power.

The speaker is thrown into sympathy with his hearers, and that sympathy unconsciously affects his thoughts, so that the audience shapes the course of speech as the banks determine the direction and the form of the flowing stream. Hence, while he reproduces what he has thought out before, it assumes a form impressed upon it by the occasion and best fitted to affect those for whom it is intended.

It may lose in exactness and elegance, but it gains in effectiveness.

This explains, what few have failed to notice, that a speech or sermon that reads well does not sound so well when heard, and one that impresses in delivery, if exactly reported, disappoints the reader who has previously heard it.

It is this immense superiority of the unwritten discourse in holding the attention and persuading the hearer that has made it almost universal amongst public speakers whose object is to carry their audience with them, the

lawyer, the legislator, the stump-speaker and the preacher.

The clergy of the English Church and of our own Church stand almost alone in their habit of reading sermons. We appreciate the advantages of their method; ability to exhibit learning, exactness of style and statement and that artistic finish which a cultured mind finds it hard to sacrifice. Whether it is better always to enjoy these excellences at the expense of effectiveness, or even sometimes to take one and then the other, each one must decide for himself, and thus determine whether he will adopt the habit of preaching exclusively with or without manuscript, or sometimes use one method and then the other. There are three ways of speaking without manuscript, which may be mentioned and considered.

One might be called the purely extemporaneous. Those who use this method make as little previous preparation in the form of discourse as possible. The argument is made out in the mind, the general course of the work to be done is anticipated, in some cases the illustrations are selected, but no sentences or phrases are formed, and a mere syllabus of the sermon or speech is written for the speaker's guidance. His work before preaching is somewhat like that of a civil engineer, making a survey for a railroad, who runs his line, sketches his plan and marks off the course, but leaves the actual construction of the road for some future time.

Such a speaker thinks over his subject, traces out his course of thought and puts down on paper an outline of the sermon, but leaves the filling up to the occasion of delivery.

This is a very popular method out of the pulpit, and is also adopted by not a few preachers. It may be safely and successfully used by a preacher of well trained, amply stored mind, but I doubt whether it ought to be exclusively followed by many Clergymen.

Without writing, almost any speaker will fall into very loose habits of composition, will insensibly indulge in forms of expression that are commonplace and inappropriate in the pulpit, and worse still, will neglect that careful and patient thinking that is essential to make him an

interesting and edifying teacher. Dr. Storrs, who is an able champion of the extemporaneous method of preaching, as he is an excellent exponent of it in practice, concedes all this, but advises the free and frequent use of the pen to prevent the evils mentioned—its use in writing for the press. The trouble is, that few clergymen, hard worked as they generally are, have the time or the disposition to do any writing that is not required for immediate preparation for Sunday duty. If they write no sermons, they will write nothing.

I should say, if one sermon a week is thoroughly prepared, elaborately written, that a second one might safely be made and delivered in the style now under discussion. Then, the written sermon will impart some of its exactness and finish to the unwritten, and take from it some of the life and spirit that it needs. Thus, too, the preacher would form and persist in habits of study that would save him from indolent neglect of preparation for his pulpit ministrations. Another method of speaking without manuscript is that in which the whole speech or sermon is thought out in detail, without the use of the pen; introduction, argument, propositions, illustrations, many phrases and paragraphs are written upon the mind and reproduced in speaking just as they were arranged in previous study. Of course gaps are left to be filled up, but numerous passages that are intended to be impressive are as exactly framed and delivered as if they were written before-hand and memorized with the aid of the eye.

This mode of speaking has been extensively employed by distinguished orators and with extraordinary results.

Though it partakes of the *memoriter* method, it avoids some of the difficulties of that style of speaking. The subject so saturates the mind of the speaker that when he stands before his audience he continues to think as he has done for days before, in a certain form, and therefore speaks in the very language that has clothed his thoughts as they have been revolved in his mind in private without conscious effort to recall anything.

Daniel Webster evidently prepared and delivered his

speeches generally in this way. He carried a speech in his mind, thought in the best language, and sometimes, in his deep absorption, delivered passages of his great arguments or orations, in solitude, to the dumb creatures that for the nonce, made his audience.

On the day before he was expected to deliver his address of welcome to La Fayette, in Boston, in the year 1825, he was out fishing. Having indifferent luck, Mr. Webster and his companions were about to abandon the pursuit of the fish, when he hooked a very large cod, and, just as it appeared on the surface of the water, he exclaimed, in a loud voice, "Welcome! all hail! and thrice welcome, citizen of two hemispheres."

His famous address on Bunker Hill was planned on Marshpee Brook, while angling; and it is said that the following exclamation was first heard (?) by a couple of huge trout, as he took them from that stream: "Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has beautifully lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day."

Some clergymen have succeeded in preaching by this method. But excellent as it may be for some men, under exceptional circumstances, combining partly the advantages of the extemporaneous style with those that belong to the delivery of sermons from manuscript, it could hardly be generally adopted.

It requires opportunities of seclusion and leisure to give much time to the preparation of each sermon; then too, there must be a certain aptitude for this style of preparation and preaching to make it available and effective.

Few Clergymen have the necessary time or quiet, amid the countless small engagements that they must attend to weekly and daily, and the frequent occasions on which they are required to preach or lecture. If a man were *merely* a preacher he might follow this method successfully; but he who is also pastor and Priest must work upon a plan with which constant interruptions will not interfere so seriously as they do with this one.

A third method of preaching without notes, and the

one that I believe to be the best for most clergymen, if they would dispense with the manuscript habitually, may be described thus: Write out the sermon fully, master the substance of what has been written, and speak from the result of this pen preparation, without the formal recollection of the sermon previously composed.

The writer, in his youth, was fascinated by the biography of Sargent S. Prentiss, one of the most powerful and brilliant speakers that this country has ever produced. It was Prentiss' habit to study his speeches thoroughly, write them out rapidly, burn the manuscript, and then go before his audience and pour out a torrent of eloquence without conscious effort to recall a line that he had put on paper. There are few Prentisses in the pulpit, or anywhere else, but there are many men who can follow his method of speaking with great profit, though they could not by that method, or any other, achieve his splendid triumphs of oratory.

The excellences of this plan of preparing and preaching sermons are manifest. There is no temptation to slight one's work—such as the extemporaneous preacher feels; a certain time is set apart for writing—other duties are excluded; while the effort to write helps to concentrate the thoughts; style is kept pure and correct, though it is not made pompous, and the results of reading may be gathered into the sermon and used in public. Besides, as the manuscript is not before the speaker and he is not hampered by the effort to remember what it contains, he can speak easily, with proper play of feeling and feature and tones. And yet he has the confidence that a conscious mastering of the subject gives and can speak with that combined dignity and simplicity of style that the extemporaneous speaker cannot command.

These are not fanciful excellences, they are known to be real and practical from the experience of many who have tried this method, and the number is increasing in the pulpit and in secular life.

That it is difficult to acquire the habit of preaching in this manner, I do not deny; but that almost any man of average ability *can* acquire it I have no doubt.

We should descend to details in discussing this matter, for the best plan badly executed will produce poor results.

First, as to the preparation of the sermon, the writer should have studied his subject and mastered his references thoroughly before he begins to write. Then, with several hours of quiet before him, he should throw himself vigorously into his work, writing rapidly, without self-criticism, *feeling* his audience and writing as if speaking to them—simply, in short sentences; and if possible, he should finish his sermon at one sitting. This sort of composition will assume the style of a spoken discourse and the very form will be recalled, in many cases, when the writer becomes the speaker.

Then, after the sermon has been written, let it be run through the mind, once and again, so that its train of thought, in proper order, can be reproduced. But do not memorize it; forget the topography of the manuscript—the places where certain good passages come in on the pages; even leave the pages without numbers, that the position of paragraphs may be forgotten, and there may be no effort, while speaking, to repeat the language of the notes.

Immediately before speaking it is not well to look over the sermon or even to think much of it. Gambetta, one of the great popular leaders in France, in our own day, made an utter failure in his first appearance at the bar; because he wearied and trammelled himself just before the argument was made by working it over. His case luckily went over to another sitting of the court.

His shrewd client, who knew the power of his young counsel, called on him on the morning when his second effort was to be made, took a comfortable breakfast with him, engaged him in interesting conversation on a subject foreign to the case, walked with him to the court room, each smoking a cigar, and thus kept him diverted till he rose to speak. Then he delivered the first of those powerful speeches that made him famous in a land of orators.

Having made the best preparation possible, one should

not worry over the sermon immediately before delivery, for it will rob one of all freshness and nervous force when one comes to speak. Without opening the manuscript, glance down the train of thought, touching and connecting prominent points, so that you will be confident that you have them in your mind, then dismiss the sermon and feel sure that it will come at your bidding like an obedient servant. When you rise to speak, pronounce your first sentence and move off upon the tide of thought and feeling that rises *now* and not upon that that comes from the *past*. The tongue will repeat much that the pen has written, perhaps all that should be said, changing for the better, adding and omitting as the intuitions of a speaker direct.

In a few years a facility in speaking in this manner will be acquired that will surprise him who adopts it, and he will find that he thinks better and makes stronger, truer sentences on his feet, in the presence of his audience, than in his study. He will be able to speak more accurately without previous preparation when necessary, and to write more vigorously and naturally than he could have done without the disciplining power of this manner of studying and delivering his sermons. No work pays so well. The end sought is difficult of attainment, but it can be reached by any man of fair capacity and culture, and *ought* to be.

I say again, that I do not counsel the entire banishment of the manuscript from the pulpits of the Church, but I do maintain that it is used too exclusively, and that the clergy should be able, when occasion requires, to do without it, and many of them should preach without it as a rule.

It has become a reproach to us that we cannot pray without the book or preach without the paper. Let us stick to the Prayer Book, but, in a country where other men who undertake to teach or to persuade the people *speak* to them, we must be *speakers* rather than *readers*, or we shall fail to wield that influence that we ought to exercise as preachers of the Gospel.

JOHN S. LINDSAY.



## FASTING COMMUNION: A REJOINDER.

**D**R. Benedict in the form of a review of a half dozen pamphlets has set forth, in a, condensed shape, the arguments of Kingdon's book against Fasting Communion. I say purposely *against*, for while no doubt the author of that work would say that he advocated "Fasting Communion," yet he would use the expression in a sense not understood by the Church, and with the same laxity of meaning as Protestant dissenters do the word "Catholic," when they profess their belief in the Apostles' Creed. In a foot note Dr. Benedict says, speaking of Kingdon's Book: "We seek to recall attention to it as to a work that has never been answered." He might have added: And to answer which no attempt has ever been made." How can a book be answered in which the author gravely asserts that Fasting when used by the early Church means *after* breakfast. No answer has been made for the best reason in the world, that there is nothing to answer. Now, before proceeding to the real question, there is much rubbish to be cleared away which hampers the discussion and prejudices the mind in the investigation of truth on this subject.

In the first place the question before us is whether Fasting Communion is the custom of God's Church, not whether we approve of the custom or whether in our judgment it tends to reverence or the reverse. Fortunately these questions are quite beyond our province, and thus the fact that Dr. Benedict, when he had the happiness during ten years in a Southern city of advising "many communicants to take some food first," (*i. e.*, before the celebration at 7 A. M.,) "and if that did not pre-

vent faintings and headaches not to come to the communion till a later hour" is not of the slightest importance one way or another; nor any number of such instances; the question still remaining as to whether Dr. Benedict had any right to give such advice. If the custom of God's Church is Fasting Communion, then Dr. Benedict for ten years advised his people to do what was wrong—otherwise not. We have Bishop Kingdon quoted with approbation because he says that "Anything that disturbs devotion and earnestness detracts from due reverence," but here too the whole matter is out of court. The question is: What is the tradition of the Church on the subject? For whatever this is, is true reverence even though it may disturb a certain kind of well-fed and comfortable devotion. In other words, the true state of reverence is that state which is in accordance with the mind of the Church; and if this state involves for some persons faintness and headache it cannot be helped; the observance of the Church's mind on the indissolubility of marriage often involves far greater and more prolonged sufferings.

In the second place Dr. Benedict complains that the "general practice of *this* Church is arraigned and condemned." Is it anything strange or unusual for a corrupt practice to spring up and gain prevalence for a century or two in a particular part of the Church during times of coldness and unbelief? Alas! the history of the Church is only too sad an answer to this question, and, not to mention other things, the withdrawal of the Cup from the Laity for at least an equal length of time in the entire West, shows how easily an evil habit, founded on convenience and *apparent* reverence, (the very reasons which have caused Unfasting Communion to grow prevalent), may gain ground. We are not called upon to say that every communion made after food is sacrilegious or mortal sin, nor to declare that all the thousands of communions of the past century were deprived of spiritual blessings, but if it be the mind of CHRIST and the Church, and if *we know it to be so*, then we do sin if we go counter to that Divine Mind, or "teach men so."

In the third place let it be distinctly understood and remembered that Fasting Communion is of Ecclesiastical and not of Divine Institution, and that this is the universal opinion of Roman authorities who will be recognized as not likely to err on the side of laxity in this matter, I illustrate this by an example. To the question whether a man not fasting but in peril of death may be given the Holy Sacrament, the answer is—yes; because the precept to communicate, is of Divine, the precept to fast only of Ecclesiastical Institution. Moreover, it is expressly on this ground that dispensations from fasting have occasionally been given; *e. g.*, to Charles V.; to some Priests on missions to the Indians; to Louis of France in 1722; also to the Empress Elizabeth, *Cf. Ben. xiv., De Syn. Diocesana, Lib. vi. Cap. Viii.*

In the fourth place it must be understood that there is nothing *per se* sinful in Unfasting Communion, it only becomes so if it is contrary to the mind and usage of the Church of GOD. S. Thomas Aquinas well sets this forth as follows, *P. III. Q. lxxx. A. viii.* :

Anything prevents the worthy reception of this Sacrament in one of two ways. Either first by its own nature, *e. g.*, deadly sin, which is contrary to the signification of the Sacrament; or else secondly on account of the prohibition of the Church, and thus anyone is shut out from receiving this Sacrament worthily if he have already received food and drink, and this for three reasons: First, out of honor to this Sacrament, that the mouth which it enters should be clean from all food or drink; second, for symbolism, to set forth that CHRIST, who is the inward part of this Sacrament, ought first to be poured into our hearts [before our bodies are fed] according to that saying 'seek ye first the Kingdom of GOD;' thirdly, out of fear of vomiting or drunkenness, which sometimes happen because men have inordinately feasted, as the Apostle says, I Cor. xi. 21.

To recapitulate—The question, before us and the only question, is—is Fasting Communion the custom of GOD's Church? And in answering this question we are not called upon to condemn our ancestors, nor to declare the law of Divine Institution, nor to affirm that every Unfasting Communion is necessarily *per se* sacrilegious and injurious to the soul. These things being premised our investigation becomes much more simple. There is of course one more question which I may be expected to answer, but

which I absolutely decline to consider, to wit: "Granted that Fasting Communion has been the custom and use of the Church, are we bound to continue that custom and use?" I am not writing for persons who would seriously consider this question. All I have set myself the task to do is to show that such has been the tradition of the Church on the subject; if any man feel at liberty, either out of consideration to his own convenience or physical health to break this tradition of the Church, or out of consideration for the comfort of others to teach men so, and thus refuses to allow the ancient customs to prevail, he must answer for such presumption to GOD, and, in our present lax state of discipline, to GOD alone.

Dr. Benedict takes issue with the learned world that has preceded him on the question of fact and denies that Fasting Communion is the use and custom and tradition of the Church. Will Dr. Benedict deny that in the year, say 1400, every Christian throughout the world recognized the obligation of Fasting Communion? He cannot deny this at least, and speaking for myself I require nothing more to fix my practice. I would not dare, on my own individual judgment, to run the risk of eating and drinking condemnation to myself through a disobedience to the Divine Will as expressed by the practice of the Church; there is surely at the least a possibility—most will recognize a probability, many a certainty—that what the whole Church then taught as the Will of GOD and Apostolic tradition might be really so, and if there is this possibility, who that values his soul would dare to break, to avoid a little temporary inconvenience, so innocent and wide spread a practice? In this connection how unanswerable are the words of Bishop Butler in the Introduction to his analogy :

In questions of difficulty or such as are thought so, if the result of examination be that there appears the lowest presumption on one side and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question even in matters of speculation; and in matters of practice will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation in point of prudence and of interest to act upon that presumption or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in very great doubt which is the truth, for surely a man is as really bound in prudence to do what upon the whole appears to be for

his happiness as what he certainly knows to be so. Nay, further in questions of great consequence (*e. g.*, a worthy reception of the Holy Communion) a reasonable man will think it concerns him to remark lower probabilities and presumptions than these; such as amount to no more than showing one side of a question to be as supposable and credible as the other, nay, such as but amount to much less even than this.

In the brief limits of an article for the REVIEW I cannot take time to follow Dr. Benedict in his special pleadings to evade the force of the few Patristic quotations he makes and in which, avoiding several of Bishop Kingdon's more absurd blunders, he for the most part follows his leader. I purpose therefore to sketch the history of the usage and then to give a few quotations from the early Fathers upon the subject.

S. Augustine tells us that our LORD :

Abstained from ordering in what manner it (the Holy Communion) should be received in order that this might be reserved for His Apostles to do by whom He was about to arrange His Church, for if He had enjoined that this should always be taken after other food, I believe that no one would have altered that custom. But when the Apostle says, speaking of this Sacrament, 'wherefore, brethren \* \* \* if any man hunger let him eat at home, etc.' He immediately subjoins, 'the rest will I set in order when I come.' Inasmuch, therefore, as it would have taken more than could be comprised in a letter if he had laid down all that order of precedence which the Church universal throughout the world observes, it is given us to be understood that by him was arranged that which is done without any variation of custom everywhere.\* S. Augustine, *Gaumer ed. Tom 1. 139—Ep. 54.*

Dr. Benedict refers to this very text from Corinthians and sneers at building so much on so little; if *we* had built in the XIX century so much on such a text, we would be indeed open to ridicule; but what Dr. Benedict does not mention, changes the matter altogether.

It is not we but S. Augustine who built so much and not in the XIX but at the end of the IV century, and in so building he refers to the living evidence of the "universal Church throughout the world, without any variation of custom everywhere!"

Dr. Benedict's interpretation of S. Paul's words "let him eat at home" is at least curious; he gives in brackets

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\* The only possible exception to this was on Maunday Thursday Night and this custom only prevailed generally in a part of Africa and was condemned finally by the Council in Trullo, A. D., 692.

as the meaning "before they leave home." This is not the traditional interpretation but exactly the reverse. *The Interlinear Gloss* (an authority certainly of equal weight and whose exposition would therefore be at least "as supposable and credible," as the other, to use Bishop Butlers words), says, "if any man be hungry and is not willing with patience to wait for the others, let him eat at home his food, that is, let him be fed with the bread of earth but let him *not* afterward receive the Eucharist." And to this interpretation S. Thomas Aquinas, no mean scholar, gives his assent. This is also the opinion of *De Lyra in Loc.* Erasmus in his paraphrase (which was publicly set up in our Churches in England, (Blunt Ref. vol. 1 p. 51) thus renders the passage "but if any man has such a craving for food that he will not put up with the delay, let him eat at his own house, and *not* in the mystic and public communion, lest what was instituted for your salvation be turned into an occasion of damnation."

To return then, to the history of the matter, we not only have the plain statement of S. Augustine that in his time Fasting Communion was universal, but can also trace the various attempts that were made in different parts of the Church to relax this Apostolic tradition.

Some in Africa dared to take food and immediately they are reprov'd by the third Council of Carthage in A.D. 397. Nearly two centuries later a like abuse began in Spain; and in A. D. 572 the Council of Braja enacts that "If any presbyter shall be found after our edict any longer so mad as to consecrate the oblation not fasting, but after having taken any food, let him be immediately deprived of his office and deposed by his Bishop." *Conc. L. and C. Tom.* v. 898.

From Spain the corruption spread to France and is again checked by the Council of Auxerre A. D. 578. "No Presbyter, Deacon or Sub-Deacon shall touch the Mass after touching meat or drink," *L. and C. Conc. Tom.* v. And again the Council of Macon, A. D., 585, decrees that "no Presbyter with a full stomach or having indulged in wine shall touch the sacrifice or presume to celebrate

Mass—for it is unjust that bodily food should be preferred to spiritual; but if any continue so to do, let him be deposed.” *Conc. L. and C. Tom. v.* 982. The Council of Toledo, in A.D. 646, makes still further provision on this subject; from the fact that if the Priest celebrating were taken ill and were unable to finish the service, any Priest even though *unfasting* should go to the Altar and continue it; some Priests who felt ill, took food before their Mass. This the council absolutely condemns as follows: Lest what has been advised by reason of languor of nature should be turned into a dangerous presumption let it be understood that no one, shall celebrate Mass after taking any, even the least, (minimum) meat or drink.” *L. And C. Conc. Tom. v.* 18, 839. These constantly recurring Canonical enactments shew how the lax clergy even at that early date, attempted to break this law, and how careful the Church was by the most stringent legislation to secure its observance. In the East there never was any trouble on the subject and the custom has always been preserved there in the most uncompromising rigor, so that a violation of the law is never allowed and dispensations therefore unheard of. Such then is in brief the history of the matter and it will be noticed that the breach of this law is spoken of in the same terms and visited with the same penalties as a breach of the law of chastity, or of the law of honesty. From all this the mind of the Church would seem to be clear enough, and yet a few short quotations from the Fathers may not be amiss.

S. Gregory Nazianzen says, “every action of CHRIST need not be imitated by us, for He celebrated the Mystery of the Passion with His Disciples in an upper room and *after* supper; we do it in the Church and before supper.” This was in A.D. 381, *Vide Bingham, xv, vii, 8.*

S. Basil (who died in A.D. 380,) distinctly says that: “it is not possible to dare to say Mass *unfasting* *Hom. 1. Jejun.* S. Chrysostom, who died in A.D. 407, says, “but thou before thou hast partaken *fastest*, that in a certain way thou mayest appear worthy of the Communion.”

ion ;" he then goes on to recommend that they should likewise fast afterward. But lest they should think this *after* fast of obligation he adds "what then? ought we to fast after receiving? I do not say this nor do I use any compulsion. This indeed were well, but I do not enforce this." The one was enforced, the other recommended. *Hom. xxvii., in 1 Cor. xi.* In his ninth homily to the people of Antioch he argues that if they eat their breakfast and therefore cannot receive the Holy Communion, yet that there is no reason they should not come and assist at the Mass and hear the sermon. Once more: Chrysostom, when charged with having given to some persons not fasting the Holy Sacrament, answers with great violence, "if I have done any such thing let my name be stricken from the roll of Bishops, and let it not be written in the book of the Orthodox Faith, for if I have done any such thing CHRIST will reject me also from His Kingdom. *Ep. 125 A. D. Cyr.*

It should be added that after this statement he goes on to say that even if he had done so he would have imitated CHRIST at the institution of the Divine Mysteries, from which it may be gathered that he held the same view as the Church does now, viz: That the obligation is of Ecclesiastical and not Divine Institution. It does not seem necessary to multiply quotations to prove what has never been denied by any scholar of weight and I therefore close with a few words by S. Augustine.

It is clear that when the Disciples first received the Body and Blood of the LORD they were not fasting. Must we therefore censure the universal Church because the Sacrament is everywhere partaken of by persons fasting? Nay, verily, for *from that time it pleased the Holy Ghost*, to appoint for the honor of so great a Sacrament that the Body of the Lord should take the precedence of all other food entering the mouth of a Christian; and it is for this reason that the custom referred to is *universally observed*.

The authority of S. Augustine is conclusive of the universality of the practice in his own times. Four centuries later Paschasius Radbertus is equally clear for his times—"This is the Sacrament, which the LORD after supper delivered to his Apostles. \* \* \* But *universally* in the Church *all fasting* with the highest devotion are



wont to communicate. *Lib. De. Sang. et Corp. Dei. Cap. 20.* Four centuries later still brings us to the times of S. Thomas Aquinas who has been already quoted.

From this it is evident that from the year 400 (at latest) to the year 1500 Fasting Communion was a custom "universally observed," as S. Augustine says, because "it so pleased the Holy Ghost to appoint for the honor of so great a Sacrament."

It may not be deemed superfluous here to add that the law of Fasting Communion was most strenuously enforced in our own Anglo Saxon Church and that by a Canon in the reign of King Edgar (A.D. 960) it is enjoined that "no man take the Housel after he hath broken his fast, except it be on account of extreme sickness." The Council of Constance, A.D. 1415, in which the Church of England was represented, enacted as follows, "the praiseworthy authority of the second Canon and the approved custom of the Church, has held and still holds that a sacrament of this kind ought not to be celebrated after supper, nor received by the faithful who are not fasting except in case of infirmity or other necessity. *Council of Constance Sess. xiii.*

The law of the Church of England on this subject has never been changed, and while indeed of late years a contrary practice has largely prevailed, yet we must look upon it as a corruption, the more so as there has been a constant protest against it from the most devout and pious men of the Church. Mr. Malcolm Mac Coll in his well known book on *Lawlessness Sacerdotalism and Ritualism* says, "I find in a book already quoted that Fasting Communion was the rule of the Church of England in the days of Queen Elizabeth" third ed. p. 209 the book referred to is a *Counter Poyson*. Richard Cosin, Dean of Arches, who died in A.D. 1597, speaks of the Primitive Church having altered the "time of receiving the Sacrament to have it received as it is in the morning fasting." *An answer to an abstract of certain Acts of Parliament* p. 60, 1584.

Still later Bishop Jeremy Taylor says "it is the custom of the Church of great antiquity and propor-

tionate regard that every Christian that is in health should receive the blessed Sacrament fasting:" *Worthy Communicant*, vii. i.

And again, in his *Ductor Dubitantium* (bk. iii, chap. iv, r, xv), under the caption of Rule xv "the *Laudable Customs of the Catholic Church* which are in present observation do oblige the conscience of all Christians,"—gives Fasting Communion as an example of such obligatory customs. "It is a Catholic custom that they who receive the Holy Communion should receive it fasting. \* \* \* He that despises this custom gives nothing but the testimony of an evil mind." Bishop Taylor died in 1667, soon after the Restoration and labored with all his power to revive the lost Catholic customs which had been universal before the great rebellion. Bishop Sparrow who died twenty years later says: (*Rationale on B. C. P.*) "This sacrament should be received fasting, and so was the practice of the universal Church which is authority enough to satisfy any that love not contention." From all this, and quotations could easily be multiplied, it is clearly seen that no such uniform disuse has prevailed as has been asserted by Bishop Kingdon and implied by Dr. Benedict, and therefore in the absence of any expression of will to the contrary we are forced to conclude that this matter of Fasting Communion is one of those points on which, as Canon XXX says:

So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practiced that it doth with reverence retain these ceremonies which do neither endanger the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they are fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders.

This conclusion we are the more established in by the consideration of the test proposed in the preface *Of Ceremonies* in the English Prayer Book, viz.: "What would S. Augustine have said?" For to this we must answer in his own words: "It pleased the Holy Ghost to appoint for the honor of so great a Sacrament that the Body of the LORD should take the precedence of all other food

entering the mouth of a Christian; and it is for this reason that the custom referred to is universally observed."

It may be well to add that the fact that the custom of the Church always has been Fasting Communion is not only affirmed by Catholic writers but by all scholars who are capable of giving an opinion on the subject.

Let Cardinal Bona, then, speak for the Catholic world; for, says Bishop Kingdon on this subject, "The assertions of Cardinal Bona will be found to be as accurate as most of the conclusions of that scholarly writer." "It is therefore an ancient and Apostolic tradition that no one should dare to approach the Divine mysteries unless he be fasting: The contrary abuse the Councils and Fathers treat as the gravest crime against the Church, and inflict for it the most weighty punishments of an anathema and deposition. *Bona, Rerum Liturg, Lib. 1, Cv. 21.*

To represent the Protestant world, I do not know that I can do better than give the words of Dr. George W. Sprott, at the present time minister of North Berwick, one of the lecturers on Pastoral Theology appointed by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. This distinguished Presbyterian divine says, "there is no authority for fast days before the observance of the Lord's Supper, in the legislation of the Church (*i. e.* Scottish Establishment) though the practice of receiving the Communion fasting is almost as old as Christianity and was common in some parts of Scotland till a generation ago." *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, Lecture III.*

HENRY R. PERCIVAL

## THE JOURNAL OF THE GENERAL CON- VENTION OF 1883.

**I**N *The Living Church* of January 26th ult. is an official notice from the Secretary of the House of Deputies, stating "The General Convention has amended the Lectionary contained in the Book of Common Prayer, by substituting for the Tables in said book *certain other Tables*, and by inserting," etc.

In an unofficial letter, published under the same date, the Secretary says "no provision was made for the distribution of the Lectionary, and it seemed best not to give official notice until the clergy had generally supplied themselves with the Lectionary in the several almanacs." He also says "most of the clergy will receive copies of the Journal and Digest"—and—"the Lectionary is printed from plates used by the Committee in making their report to the Convention."

It is my desire, having the "Journal and Digest" before me, as well as several almanacs, to make a cursory review of said Digest, and of the Journal as far as it refers to the Lectionary, and also of the almanacs as they publish the Lectionary as amended.

I. A number of Canons were amended during the last Convention, as is usually the case. A committee of two Bishops, and two Clergymen, was appointed to certify the changes made in the Canons, and their report is found on pages 624 to 632 of the Journal.

As a rule, Theological Students, who are required to study the Canons, will receive only a copy of the Digest, (many of them may have to buy that) and no copy of the changes as certified by the Committee will be placed in their hands. It is possible that the Professors who teach

Canon Law will use only the Digest, and will not have a copy of the certified changes to which to refer. In fact it is possible that but a small proportion of the clergy, and very few of the laity will see this certified list of changes, or if they see it, will think it necessary to compare it with the Digest as printed. I therefore propose calling attention to some discrepancies, and would say that I was led to examine the Report and the Digest by the accidental discovery of an important error. Amendments were made to Title I, Canon 5, § I, (1), Canon 9; Canon 15, § ii (2), § iii (1), § vii, (3), (4), § viii (7), § ix, (2), § xv, (2), (3), § xvi, (4), § xvii, (1); Canon 16. Title II, Canon 1 § v; Canon 2, § ii; Canon 1 i, § ii. Title III, Canon 3 was repealed. Canons 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were renumbered 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Canon 8 (now renumbered 7) was amended, and Canon 9 (now renumbered 8) was amended in articles IV, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX, § ii.

There are differences of punctuation between the changes as certified by the Committee, and the Digest as published, in twenty-two places; \*there are differences in the use of capitals and small letters in seventeen places †.

In Title I Canon 5 § i (1) line 5, the Digest has "his," the Committee Report has "the." In Title II Canon 2, § ii lines 3 and 11, the Digest has "rumor" and the Report has "rumour" and in Title III, Canon 8, Article VIII line 3 the Digest has "the," the Report has "this."

These are probably only errors in proof-reading, but they indicate a carelessness that should be avoided in so important a publication as the Digest.

Beyond this, however, Title I, Canon 15, § vii, 4, 5, 6 have been variously and extensively amended, *and no foot notes mark the fact.* The same must be said of Title I,

\* *Differences in Punctuation.*—Title I, Canon 15, § ii (2) 2d line; § iii (1), line 6; § vii, (4) line 5; § vii (5) line 6; § viii, (7) lines 3 and 4; § xv (2) line 2; § xvi (4), lines 1, 10 and 12; § xvii (1), line 7; Canon 16, § i, line 5. Title II, Canon 1, § v, line 2; Canon 11, § ii (3) line 1, 2 errors; § ii (4) line 2; § ii (5) line 1. Title III, Canon 7, § i, lines 1 and 2; Canon 8, Article IV, line 13; Article VI, line 5.

† *Differences in use of Capitals and Small Letters.*—Title I, Canon 5, § i (1) lines 3 and 8; Canon 9, § i, line 3; Canon 15, § viii (7) lines 10 and 11; § xvi (4) line 9; § xvii (1) line 6, 2 errors. Title II, Canon 1, § v, lines 2 and 4; Canon 2 § iii, lines 2 and 3. Title III, Canon 8, Article IV, line 5; Article VII, line 5, Article IX, § ii, line 7.

Canon 15, §viii, 7, §ix, 2, §xv, 2, § xvii, i: Title I, Canon 16, §1: Title II, Canon 11, §2, 3, 4, 5; and Title III, Canon 8, (now 7).

Here are a number of amendments, some of them important, which, to the ordinary student of the Digest, tell no story of amendment. Here is still further indication of carelessness on the part of the Editor of the Digest.

Beyond this, however, are indications of carelessness, which involve both the Editor of the Digest, and the Committee appointed to certify to the changes made.

Title I, Canon 16, §ii was amended by both Houses. No foot note calls attention to the amendment. *It is not made* in the Digest, and *it does not appear* in the Report of the Committee which certified the changes made.

The Rev. Wm. Tatlock, D.D., Secretary of the House of Bishops, on page 4 of the Journal, calls attention to Title I, Canon 16; *Of a List of Ministers of this Church*, and says, in concluding, "and at or before each General Convention the Secretary is to be furnished with a list of Ordinations and Depositions since the preceding General Convention, to be published in the Journal." The Canon of 1880 said, "the said list shall, from time to time, be published in the Journal of the General Convention." The House of Bishops (Journal page 213) amended the Canon so that it should read "*and said list shall be published in the Journal of each Convention.*" The House of Deputies (Journal page 303) adopted the Resolution "this House concurs"—when they learned that "the object proposed is to be accomplished without expense to the Convention."

This Resolution of concurrence was sent to the House of Bishops (Journal page 114), and referred to the Committee on Canons, with the other matters contained in the message, and as no veto appears, and as the Secretary of the House of Bishops calls attention to this amendment as quoted above, it was undoubtedly an amendment to the Canon.

The Committee to certify the changes say that the amendment is "and shall, from time to time, be pub-

lished." So also the Digest, and both Committee and Digest ignore the amendment.

This omission makes all the difference between an occasional, and a triennial, record of Ordinations, Deaths and Depositions, and the object of the Bishops, which was apparently to provide for a systematic and authorized list of those added to the ministry by ordination, or lost to it by death or deposition, becomes defeated, for three years any way, until another Convention can amend the Journal, and order the correction of the Digest.

This may also be a small matter, but in a publication like the Journal, it is an indication of carelessness that should be avoided.

In consequence of this error, the list is not published in the Journal of 1883. Possibly copies will be made from stereotype plates, and offered for sale. or possibly an official notice may be issued, referring Church Wardens and Vestries, as well as Bishops and Standing Committees, to the "several almanacs," one of which contains the name of a Clergyman, who left the ministry fifteen years ago, and another of which does not contain, and has not for ten years, so I am told, the name of a Clergyman in regular standing.

Title III, Canon 8 (now 7), was amended. (Journal pages, 102, 107, 189, 285), but the Committee to certify the changes do not seem to have had this change brought to their notice, as they make no mention of it in their Report, and the new Digest does not contain it. Some two months after the issue of the Journal, the Secretary discovered this omission, and sent to every Clergyman a copy of an amended Canon that could be pasted over the unamended page of the Digest, and an extra page of certifications from the Committee, as voucher for the change. Title I, Canon 15, §xvi (4), as to the resignation of a Bishop, and his title to retain his seat, is reported as amended by the Committee and printed as amended in the Digest. (In the Journal, pages 14, 22, 39, 107, 209, 252, 295, 313, 314, 322) refer to this matter, and page 313 shows that on motion of the Rev. Dr. Farrington, the whole subject was postponed

until the next General Convention. The very amendment which was thus put over for three years *is certified to by the Committee, and in the Digest* a foot note calls attention to it *as an amendment added in 1883*. A reference to pages 314 and 322, however, shows that the House concurred in another amendment to this Canon, and the probability is that the Committee and the Editor got the two amendments mixed.

Here are two amendments not inserted and one seriously questioned. Who among the Professors will study out these things for their students? Who among the students will be made certain as to the changes made? On what basis will their certainty rest? Should any questions arise under these amended Canons, who is to interpret them satisfactorily? And of what value is that certificate on page 148 of the Digest?

II. Again, in looking at the Journal, one misses the familiar forms of Episcopal Reports. It is true they are tabulated, but why not refer to the "several almanacs" for this tabulation? This however may be a small matter. On page 174 of the Journal, the order is given for making a summary, but was it intended to take the place of the reports as usually printed?

III. Once more, the "Book Annexed" is not printed in the Appendix, as every one, who had not the opportunity of purchasing copies before the meeting of the Convention, had hoped it would be. It is referred to in the Supplemental Journal many times; and referred to by pages, as though every one of the Clergy, and as many of the Laity as had an interest in the proposed enrichment of the Liturgy, were already supplied with a copy. It is possible however that copies of the Book Annexed may be sent to the Conventions of the several Dioceses, and be printed in their several Journals, thus bringing it before the people who will have to decide as to its adoption or rejection. But, so far, no official copy, of the most important work of the Convention is available, and when we would like to know what is meant by "In Part (c), rubric (B. A., p. 247, second rubric), insert '*at the earlier Service*' after '*omitted*;' and for



'have been previously used' read, 'be used once,'" We must do—what? Wait for official notice to search the "several almanacs"? or buy an authorized copy made from stereotype plates from the Secretary? or—what?

Probably the Book Annexed was not published in the Journal because of the expense that would thus be entailed.

It was published in the AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW for November, 1883.

I have before me a copy of *The Pastor, a Monthly Journal for Priests*. This magazine contains the *Rubrical Speciales Breviarii Romani Reformata*, with this note:

A clergyman facetiously remarked on the appearance of the new rubrics and offices that the Sacred Congregation was making a fortune for the booksellers. The following rubrics it would be simply impossible for any one to remember at proper time and place. But even so, there is no need of our contributing to the fortune of our bookseller's daughters. It is a very simple matter to put a *Vide* at each feast in Breviary and Missal, and glance at this number of the *Pastor* as each recurs to see what the *Vide* directs.

Now why cannot the Secretary issue an unofficial notice, which, while endorsing the several almanacs with which the clergy are to supply themselves, shall extend the endorsement to the November number of the AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, and suggest to us that a *Vide*, with a page reference to said REVIEW, placed on the margins of our Prayer Books, will direct us to the changes, and not only save the General Convention the expense of publishing the results of its labors, but also save the Diocesan Conventions the expense of publishing the Book Annexed, and save the Clergy the expense of buying the Supplemental Journal, especially as the purchase of said Journal only results in finding that the Book Annexed, is *not annexed at all*.

IV. And lastly, let us return to our starting point. Have we a Lectionary? If we have, where is it? The Lectionary of the Prayer Book has been amended by substi-

tuting certain other tables—repealed in fact. The Lectionary, whose use was permissive from 1880 to 1883 was amended by the last Convention, and, as amended, was adopted by both Houses. It is referred to on pages 9, 60, 61, 162, 188, 216, 227, 228, 353, 396, of the Journal, from which we learn the fact of the adoption of a new Lectionary with Numbers xxii. restored to use on the 9th Sunday after Trinity; and we further learn that the Apocryphal lessons were retained, and were ordered to be printed in a different type from the rest of the tables.

Where has this been done? The Journal contains no copy of the Lectionary thus printed, in fact no copy of any Lectionary, and our only guide to one is the unofficial note of the Secretary to the *Living Church*, suggesting that it might be found in the “several almanacs.”

Did he know the almanacs would publish it? and did he know, did he have any reason to know, that they would publish the Lectionary adopted by the General Convention? Or did he examine them before writing that letter, to see that they published the Lectionary as the Convention ordered it to be published? And has the Convention any right to shift the publishing of their Lectionary upon the almanacs? And, in supplying themselves with the “several almanacs” have the clergy any guarantee that they have a correct copy of the new Lectionary?

For instance, the *Protestant Episcopal Almanac* professes to give the new Lectionary. This differs from the one in the Prayer Book, yet in no case is the order of the Convention followed with reference to printing the names of the Apocryphal books in a different type—while in Lent, one set of lessons is given which agrees with neither the Prayer Book, nor either of the two sets given in the *Living Church Annual*. Here is a possibility for four daily morning services in any one church, with a *different set of lessons at each service*. Or, if the Prayer Book set is repealed, as we have reason to believe, then with three sets of lessons. For the Feast of the Annunciation may be read at Morning Prayer for the first lesson,

Genesis iii., 1-16, Job xxxviii., v. 19, or Ecclesiasticus ii., and for most of the other Festival Days a choice of two lessons is given.

*Living Church Annual* gives a double barrelled set of Sunday lessons, one being the Prayer Book set which is supposed to be repealed,—the other is supposed to be the new Lectionary, but the names of the Apocryphal books are printed in the same type as the others—and for the 9th Sunday after Trinity this almanac does not give Numbers xxii. in its new Lectionary, but numbers xvi, 1-41 and xvii.

*McCalla and Stavely's Annual* seems to be like the *Living Church Annual*, yet a comparison of the lessons for the first Sunday in Lent shows us—Jer. 7, or Jer. 7, v 21, in *McCalla and Stavely's*, and Jer. vii, or Jer. vii, 1-21 in the *Living Church Annual*. A comparison of the three almanacs for the 2d lesson on the morning of the Annunciation shows us a variation indeed, viz:—*McCalla and Stavely's Annual*, Luke x, v 25, Luke i, 39-57, *Whittaker's Almanac* Mark x, 1-17, Luke i, 39-57, *Living Church Annual* Luke x, 1-25, Luke i, 39-57; For the 5th Sunday in Lent we have a choice—Zech. xii, Dan. vii, Dan vii, 1-19, and for Sept. 30, we have this assortment of Evening Lessons Jer. li, 1-35, Hosea 5 and 6, v 8-7, Dan. x. v 4; Hosea 5, v 8-6, 7. These specimens are taken at random. *McCalla and Stavely's, Annual*, gives Numbers xxii. on the 9th Sunday after Trinity, thus approximating to the Amended Lectionary, but nowhere prints the Apocryphal books in a type different from the other lessons.

The result of the search for the Lectionary in the above "several almanacs" has discouraged me from examining *Roper's Kalendar*, *The Church Almanac*, or the Lectionary printed from stereotype plates and for sale by the Secretary. But the Secretary did not refer us to that in his unofficial letter.

Here are the principal almanacs to which the Secretary refers clergymen for the new Lectionary, differing from each other, giving a bewildering assortment of lessons. Which is right? Which is authoritative? And

which set does the Secretary propose to sell for ten cents?

There is no Lectionary in the Journal. Having the plates, as he tells us in his advertisement of various Convention publications for sale, why could he not have added a few pages more to the Journal and given the clergy a Lectionary upon which they could rely, and which, even if not quite complying with the amendments of the General Convention, would have enabled us to be uniform in our errors?

The Lectionary was adopted and authorized on the 15th and 16th of October 1883, and about the middle of March 1884, the clergy generally received a pamphlet, called a "Supplementary Appendix to the Journal," which contained Tables of Lessons of Holy Scripture. "Set forth and *Enjoined* to be used." This is presumably the Lectionary adopted. An official note to the Editor of the paper referred to at the beginning of this article, forewarned us of its appearance, and in this way the question as to our Lectionary is solved.

Now does it not seem reasonable, that when the General Convention undertakes such an important work as repealing one Lectionary, and establishing a new one, it should give its Secretaries authority to do two things, yea three,

1. Issue a notice to every Clergyman, and every parish and mission station, stating what had been done, and when the new arrangement would begin to take effect.
2. Send a copy, duly authenticated, of the changes made, a reasonable time before the change in the mode of conducting that part of the service is to be made.
3. Print in the official publication of the Convention, a perfect and standard copy of the new arrangement as finally adopted.

IRVING McELROY.

## OPEN LETTERS.

TO THE RIGHT REV. HENRY C. LAY, D. D.

*Right Rev. and Dear Sir:*

THIS is not the first time, if I remember rightly, that you have been addressed in this manner, and on a subject which lies very near your heart, and concerning which you have done so much to arouse attention and sympathy, and I hope touch the conscience of the Church. I allude of course to the matter of disabled and aged Clergymen and the helplessness and destitution in which they find themselves when age or sickness comes; the gravity of the subject is my only excuse for troubling you, and for further bringing it before the Church. There are some aspects of the case which it seems to me, have not as yet sufficiently been considered, and to which it is purposed in this letter to call attention.

That there is greivous trouble and wrong somewhere, some great cause which wrung out this cry of pain, is evident. Palliations of any wide-spread disease may be of temporary benefit, but if they shall obscure or call attention away from seeking the source of the trouble, they are worse than useless. We know some of the symptoms,—pain is a symptom, a friendly warning of Nature that there is wrong within, but it is not the wrong itself. Have we as yet found the cause? or having found it, has it been revealed? Have we as yet got a true “diagnosis,” or one which the “Doctors of the Church” will admit to be true, or if admitting to be true, they are able or willing to act upon?

Now what is the matter, the root difficulty of the trouble? where does it lie? It may be more easy to ask these questions than to answer them. There

may be many apparent sources, but as in malarial affections of the body, may they not all, or nearly all, at last be traced to one source,—our system, our method, our polity in short? Have we carefully looked in this direction to find the cause?

We are an Episcopal Church. The name means something, a great deal, and it would be great unwisdom to throw the name away. Names are things, but what sort of things? What does this word “Episcopal” mean and imply? It does not mean only that we have Bishops, but that we have a *polity*. It is an Episcopal *Church*. It is not a Congregational Church; and wherein is the difference? A Congregational Church is one wherein the local congregation is the integer, the complete and perfect unit, confessedly so; an autonomy, self-producing, self-governing and self sustaining. Such is the theory, the practice of our congregational friends; they are consistent with their polity, whatever we may think of the Scripturalness and catholicity of that *polity*.

But what is an *Episcopal* Church? Wherein does it differ from the other? Is it an aggregation of a certain number of virtually congregational bodies, yet each independent, autonomous, which may or may not be “in union with” a vogue, loose and indefinite ecclesiastical body called a Diocese, within the bounds of which they happen to be found? Such seems to be the case in fact, but ought it to be such? Should not an “Episcopal Church” be one, a city at unity in itself? If so, wherein does that *unity* lie? In short is what we call the Diocese one or many? What is the body and what the members thereof? Right here, I take it is the difference between an Episcopal and a Congregational Church.

But what has this to do with aged and broken down clergymen? We shall see. When a man is called to Holy Orders, it is the Church that is the Diocese, through her officers, especially her official head, which calls and ordains him. The Church is not the Bishop, nor in the Bishop, as some seem to teach, more than the Government is in the President, or a kingdom in its king. Louis XIV might say “I am the State,” but that did not make him so, but

the Church, which is "the Body," ordains men to Holy Functions, sets them apart to a holy end, they become in an especial way the servants of CHRIST and His Church. A compact, a mutual agreement as it were, is then entered into. The ordained promises his life, his talents, such as God has bestowed upon him, to the service of the Church; and on the other hand the Church assumes, or should assume, a responsibility for his material wants. The Church is the concrete and visible representation of the Gospel, and "they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." I take it that nothing can be more clear than that such a compact is intended to be made.

And now what further in fact has the Church, as such, to do with those she ordains? As things are, nothing. In her corporate capacity she has nothing for them to do, no place for them. They who "wait at the Altar are part-takers with the Altar," but in fact she has no Altar at which they may serve, no place for them to preach that Gospel which they are sent to preach, and consequently no bread for them to live upon. If they go upon the "highways" to exercise their functions, they may become liable as intruders upon another's "premises." In other words the power of *Mission* has been lost to the Church. She has abandoned it to bodies which are congregational in their orders and secular in fact, creatures of the Civil Law. If one of these secular bodies, composed it may be largely of unbaptized men, see fit to "call" to hire at its own pleasure, and on its own terms, one whom the Church has ordained, he may find for a time, under the restriction of "pleasing" those who "call" him, opportunity of preaching the Word, and receive such compensation as this secular body is able or willing to give.

Is it not so? Have you the power as a Bishop to send one on whom you have laid hands to any field, unless it be the poorest missionary spot in your Diocese? And can you keep a man, however faithful he may be at his post, if faction or opposition has risen? He must "go," and you and the Church cannot help it. Starvation awaits him if he remains.

And when men have spent the flower of their age and

strength in the service of these local and secular bodies, and "Autumn days" are come, these so-called "parishes," for the most part, cannot if they would, find support for the worn-out men who have served them so long. The Church, which cannot even "send" them at first, of course can do nothing for them, and—you know the rest.

The Bishops only, as things are, have permanent places, and some guaranty, such as it is, for support in old age; and why they more than others? Why has not Priest as much claim on the Church as Bishop? Why are the common Clergy "birds of passage," as a Bishop is reported to have called them, having no home? It may be said that one is a Diocesan officer, the other is not; but the Diocese is the Church, and as such should be responsible for both.

And here is the fault. It is our working system, our actual polity, which makes the Church Episcopal but Congregational in fact; Episcopal for Bishops but Congregational for Priests. In a Church rightly organized, both Bishop and Priest should be the servants of and cared for alike by the Church.

Right here, dear Bishop, I conceive to be the *fons et origo* of the difficulty. Are we willing to look it in the face? Is it not a true diagnosis, and can there be any permanent cure until the cause is removed, and can the cause ever be removed? It will demand a reformation, a revolution, no less. Can it ever be brought about? If disease is constitutional, the remedy must be such; mere palliatives are of little avail. Or is the trouble organic, self-seated, incurable? If so, your progress and anxiety and labor of love are all in vain. There is no help. The Clergy have the grave, and that only in this world before them. Fifty years ago the pastors in the Congregational body as a rule were settled for life; now, almost every where, they are *hired* from year to year. And the same tendency exists with us. The Institution Office is little used and less heeded. In many parishes the congregational practice has obtained, and every year security in tenure of place is be-



coming less and less. As things go the best thing the ordinary Priest can do, after he has passed fifty, if the good LORD will let him, is to die and go Paradise; but GOD help his family, if he have one! Gray hairs are not wanted. The experience and wisdom which only can come with years are only sought after in the affairs of the world. And the complaint comes that young men of promise are not seeking Holy Orders, and why, as things are should they? Especially is this true of the sons of the Clergy, and can we blame them? The prospect of dark days in the home and suffering and sorrow to the gray hairs of parents forbids. Can we ask our young men to take these sacred obligations upon them when the Church has thus abandoned care and responsibility for them? In theory they become the servants of the Church, in fact the servants of the world. Obligations are mutual, as has been said, and the Church does not keep her part of the contract; under our working system she cannot do it. Why, then, should men be placed in a position from which the Church is powerless to extricate them, and from which with honor they cannot extricate themselves!

It may be said that this argues want of faith on the part of men. Perhaps it does. Does it not argue as well want of "good faith" as well as justice on the part of the Church? It is hard even to suggest this, for it may be from misfortune rather than from fault, but the fact exists. Obligations are mutual, and "Faith and Works" inseparable on either hand.

Is it not the wiser course to confess the trouble, and honestly in the sight of GOD to seek for and endeavor to remove the cause?

But I will not further trouble you. My thought, meagrely stated, is before you. Is it or is it not true?

Obediently yours in CHRIST,

D. D. CHAPIN.

## RECENT LITERATURE.

*The Gospel According to S. Matthew. With Notes Critical and Practical.* By the Rev. M. F. SADLER, New York: James Pott.

Prebendary Sadler is author of *Church Doctrine, Bible Truth. The Sacrament of Responsibility*, and other valuable works well-known to American Churchmen. Knowing his soundness in the Faith and his clear convictions as to the position and claims of the Church, we should expect of course that in exegesis he would carry out and enforce the same principles as prevail in his writings everywhere. An examination of the present volume will satisfy any one that the learned commentator has so done. In an introduction of some forty pages, Mr. Sadler discusses, accurately and satisfactorily, the origin and sources of the Four Gospels; gives specially appropriate statements prefatory to S. Matthew's Gospel, and explains the nature and scope of the short, critical notes which he has furnished. Like some other good Churchmen and able critics, he speaks out manfully in favor of the *Textus Receptus*, "so blown upon (as he indignantly says) and despised as corrupt and uncritical, and I know not what." There seems to be something of a reaction setting in, in regard to this much talked of text of the New Testament, and Wescott and Hort's text does not appear likely to obtain the assent of all scholars in England or America.

The notes are rightly characterized as critical and practical. They are sufficiently full for all ordinary purposes, and they are just the kind of notes which supply accurate knowledge and explanation of the sacred Word,

always, also, being in entire accord with the Catholic Faith, as set forth in the Catholic Creeds, and ever held by the Catholic Church.

*English Style in Public Discourse.* With special reference to the Usages of the Pulpit. By AUSTEN PHELPS, D.D., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

We congratulate those theological students who had the direct training of Dr. Phelps. Contact with a professor of such versatile talent and scholarly culture must have been an inspiration to study. And we thank him for widening his influence by the publication of his seminary instructions. This book like its predecessors, with all its technical treatment, is yet pre-eminently popular in its material and structure. Again, it is far more than it claims to be. While professedly designed for those looking forward to Holy Orders it is so broad in its sweep and so general in its analysis that its Introduction is adapted to every profession employing oral or written address.

We know of no more thorough or satisfactory statement of the fundamental qualities or elements of style, or of no better book to put into the hands of an immature student, who is ambitious of literary attainments as an ornament or aid to his professional work. The book contains twenty lectures, with an appendix, comprising a "catalogue of words and phrases which are violations of English purity or of precision." Some of the best material of the book is to be found in the form of "Excursus," in which there is an apparent deviation from the topic of the lecture, but the affiliation of thought, and the incisive application of some salient truth, more than compensates for the breach of continuity. Lecture XII, "The Intellectuality of the Pulpit," is masterly, and while not so strictly didactic as some others, is the priceless gem in a setting of valuable brilliants.

*Thoughts upon the Liturgical Gospels.* By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULDBURN, D.D. 2 Vols. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

Dean Gouldburn stands high as a devotional writer. Nearly all his books, excepting the *Bampton Lectures*,

have this character, and are intended for religious use. In these volumes the purpose is designedly devotional. The Gospels for the Sundays of the Christian year are broken into sections, so that a passage or two falls to each day, with short comment upon it, which is intended to assist the reader in meditation and prayer. The conception is very thoroughly carried out. First, the Gospel for the Sunday is given in black-letter text, then come the variations in different books of service, then the comment on the authority of the text, and then the devotional commentary for the several days of each week. The plan is simple, and is worked out with fidelity rather than in any startling way. This, indeed, is always Dr. Gouldburn's fashion. None of his books are interesting, unless the reader brings himself within the author's limits, but, if one yields to him, the thoroughly calm and English way of putting things will be directly felt, and in the event Dr. Gouldburn will become a favorite religious guide. He is a healthy writer and can be trusted. These books will be prized by the Clergy for their exact and careful scholarship, by intellectual people for their strictly devotional atmosphere, by quiet and devout Christians for their suggestions for the guidance of the spiritual life. They represent Dr. Gouldburn at his best. The introductory sections are specially valuable to scholars.

*James Skinner: A Memoir.* By the Author of *Charles Lowder*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co.

This volume is almost the sequel to the Life of "*Charles Lowder*. Mr. Skinner was a fellow worker with Mr. Lowder at S. Barnabas', Pimlico, and each bore his share of the hostility aroused against the East London mission Churches, because an elaborate ritual was maintained in the services among the poor. Mr. Skinner was largely responsible for the materials that went into Charles Lowder's biography. He carried out in ritual the thoughts and purpose which doctrinally controlled the Tractarian movement of 1883. James Skinner was but a stripling in 1883, and grew up under the special direction of Dr. Hook and Archdeacon Wilberforce.

When Cardinal Newman went to Rome in 1845, young Skinner had been only three or four years in Holy Orders. In 1851 he became Senior Curate of S. Barnabas, then under the charge of the Rev. Robert Liddell, who was the vicar of S. Paul's, and succeeded the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, its first vicar. His health failed him at S. Barnabas, and except that later on he held the parish at Newland for awhile, his life-work was carried on chiefly in his study through the guidance he gave to others in difficult cases of casuistry and the general direction of the advanced movement in the English Church, which was to an exceptional degree confided to him. He was one of its unseen, but most positive influences. His position was one in which he was able to touch its deepest spiritual lines without entering into the actual conflict. The ill health which withdrew him from active labor, gave him all the stronger influence as a religious man, and the memoir is valuable as revealing the way in which he was related to the prominent leaders of the Tractarian and Ritualistic party; to men like Dr. Pusey, Canon Carter and Bishop Wilberforce. His chief theological work was the *Synopsis of Moral Theology*, which was barely finished at the time of his death. The volume is the companion to the *Charles Lowder* though it is far less crowded with incident and touches fewer sympathies. James Skinner was a saintly man, and the story of his restricted career is the story of one who fearlessly did his duty in the station where God had placed him.

*Sermons Preached in Clifton College Chapel, 1879-1883.* By the Rev. J. M. WILSON, M. A., Head-master. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

These school sermons remind one of a similar series preached by Dr. William Everett to the boys at Adams Academy, Quincy, Mass. Mr. Wilson is a Priest of the Church of England; Dr. Everett is a Unitarian Minister; but the same tone of high morality and true manliness is manifest in each volume. Grown people will not like either collection, because they have gone beyond them and need stronger meat, but for eager, growing, inquiring youth there can be nothing better of its kind.

than these fresh and vigorous discourses. They touch the right note, and no one who has to do with boys in their school-life should overlook them. They stir both mind and heart, and have the life in them which Dr. Arnold put into his famous Rugby Sermons.

*Voices from a Busy Life*: Selections from the Poetical Works of the late EDWARD WASHBURN, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

Though Dr. Washburn, for the most part, clung steadfastly to plain prose, he had a rare power of poetical utterance, the kindling imagination and the power of magic expression. His verses are chiefly occasional pieces and translations from the old Latin hymns of the Christian Fathers. They are not polished to the extent of weakening the force of the expression, but convey in vigorous terms the lively emotions of the author as he drank in the life of nature, or mused among sacred scenes, or caught the meaning of the Christian festivals. They were well worth collecting, and present an important feature of the intellectual and spiritual life of a many-sided man.

*Darwinism in Moral and other Essays*. By FRANCES POWER COBBE. Boston: George H. Ellis.

Though Churchmen are far from following a theist like Miss Cobbe, her writings are so full of the light of Christian common sense, that they ought not to be neglected. This volume is a collection of miscellaneous essays on morals and religion which have appeared in English periodicals during the last twenty years, and which will be found extremely useful for suggestive reading. Miss Cobbe is a candid and serious thinker, and always writes with earnestness and sincerity. She is hardly a theologian; but, within certain definite limits, her writings have considerable value. She is an ardent believer in the religious consciousness, and holds little in common with Mr. Herbert Spencer.

*The Epistles of S. John: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays*. By BROOKS FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.,

It is somewhat difficult to speak of the present work without seeming to run into extravagance of commendation. Dr. Westcott has spent many years (more than thirty, he tells us), upon the writings of S. John, and has studied them with a devout carefulness and thoroughness rarely equalled and probably never excelled, criticism in the ordinary sense of the term in noticing new books, we feel would be out of place, and we shall not attempt it here. All that is needful for us to do is to lay before our readers a clear but concise statement of what the volume contains, and leave them to judge of its superior merit and value by personal examination and use.

Dr. Westcott gives first full and carefully prepared introductions to the First, Second and Third Epistles of S. John (fifty-six pages), then follows the Greek Text and notes of the First Epistle (over two hundred pages), and the Second and Third Epistles, Greek Text and Notes (twenty-four pages). The Notes are characterized by keen insight into the meaning and force of the original, as well as by an earnest and vigorous effort to set forth the Catholic Faith, as held by the Church, in opposition to heresies of all doubt (whether ancient or modern), in regard to our LORD's person and work. They will well repay the student who shall strive to make himself thoroughly acquainted with them.

The essays subjoined occupy the latter third of the volume and are both extremely interesting and valuable.

The first is entitled "The Two Empires; the Church and the World;" the second, "The Gospel of Creation;" and the third, "The Relation of Christianity to Art." Although they are not perhaps very closely connected with the work, as an exegesis of the Epistles of S. John, these essays will be found to be not only interesting, as we have said, but also suggestive and profitable reading.

The study of Scripture is, I believe (says Dr. Westcott), for us, the way by which GOD will enable us to understand His present revelation through history and nature, when once we can feel the divine power of human words, which gather in themselves the results of cycles of intellectual discipline, we shall be prepared to pass from the study of one book to the study of the Divine Library.' And the inquiries which

come before us are not mere literary speculations. The fullness of the Bible, apprehended in its historical development, answers to the fullness of life. If we can come to see in the variety, the breadth, the patience of the past dealings of God with humanity, we shall gain that courageous faith from a view of the whole world which is commonly sought by confining our attention to a little fragment of it.

The learned Professor acknowledges "a feeling of sadness in looking at that which must stand with all its imperfections as the accomplishment of a dream of early youth." But nevertheless he is not without hope that his work will serve "to encourage some students to linger with more devout patience, with more frank questionings than before, over words of S. John." May this hope and this trust have their abundant fulfillment in the experience of every student of God's Holy Word!

*The Words of Christ as Principles of Personal and Social Growth.* By JOHN BASCOM, Author of *Philosophy of Religion*, etc. New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The author avows it as his purpose "to turn attention directly to the words of CHRIST as holding the theory and the only sufficient theory of spiritual growth, the forces and the only sufficient forces wherewith to secure that growth. Whatever else may be doubtful, it is not doubtful that the Spirit of the Gospel is the regenerating power of the world. The question of historic proof as to the exact facts of the Gospels he simply waives, his object being to see whether the assertion "I am the way, the truth and the life," can be sustained and verified by the constitution of the human mind and of society, and by the historical development which is in progress under our very eyes.

The argument which may be drawn from such an investigation may legitimately be urged in disputations with the unbeliever. Provided it be ably conducted it should lead the skeptic to an acknowledgement of the Messiahship of JESUS, the facts of the Gospel and the Inspiration of its writers. Anything short of this is merely rationalism. Merely to prove that those "emotional truths" which are subserving the end of construction and



of life in the serial world are truths of the Gospel is to prove that JESUS was wiser and better than all other teachers.

The theme which our author proposes is a noble one and is ably handled. The chapters on "the Law of Consecration" and on "Individual growth" and portions of other chapters show a master hand. In the last, on "the Natural and the Supernatural" he defines the natural to be the forces expressed in matter—physical laws. The supernatural means the energies or powers which are lifted above the plane of forces expressed in matter. Matter and its forces are natural while mind or spirit is supernatural. A miracle then, is GOD, working His purpose immediately in matter, not being bound to a medium like man. He regards the miraculous element in the life of CHRIST not as any essential part of its intrinsic powers, but "as a natural, inevitable incident of that power, and one of its methods of disclosure."

It is strange that the author could not have employed the same reasoning in regard to inspiration. Man influences the mind of man through a medium. But GOD not being bound to a medium, can influence or command the mind of man directly—which is inspiration. And as the author admits that religion without the supernatural in some form, is not religion, that "religion everywhere and in every way must assume the supernatural" we do not see on what ground he denies the fact of inspiration. And yet on this subject he says, "Inspiration, so far as it means anything beyond the rational and spiritual hold of truth on the human mind is putting authority in the place of reason, and blind obedience in the place of insight." "Reason is the measure and the only measure of truth: when authority enters, it and truth take their departure together." "It has become in the spiritual world that traditional element of menace and feat which prevents our searching the Scriptures through and through till we possess them and are possessed by them.

It would follow then that JESUS CHRIST was the wisest and best of men and so far above His kind as to work miracles, and yet we know the facts of His life and his

discourses from no inspired record. We must take the statements of Gospel history as we would those of any other record, and bring the teachings of those whom CHRIST promised to inspire by the direct gift of the Holy Ghost to the tribunal of our reason.

*History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North, from the Most Ancient Times to the Present.* By FREDERICK WINKEL HORN, Ph. D. Revised by the Author, and Translated by Rasmus B. Anderson, Author of *Norse Mythology*, with a Bibliography of the Important Books in the English language Relating to the Scandinavian Countries, Prepared for the Translator by THORWALD SOLBERG, of the Library of Congress, Washington. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

Although much, of a fragmentary character, has been written of Norse history and literature, yet this book may, justly be said to be a revelation to the English reader. Consistent and trust-worthy knowledge was attainable only from foreign sources, which involved so much labor that most students contented themselves with the deficiency of this factor in their equipment. Now that this full, methodical and admirable translation by Mr. Anderson is accessible no apology will condone ignorance.

The original was written in German. Dr. Horn is a Dane, but prepared his book as an aid to foreign students of Scandinavian Literature. It shows entire familiarity with the field of investigation, and the structure of the book, with the detailed method of treatment, under the general divisions, makes it satisfactory and remunerative reading. It embraces three parts—Icelandic-Danish and Norwegian and Swedish. The most surprising feature of the book is the chapter on modern Icelandic literature in which are shown the intellectual level and general diffusion of knowledge of this people. We confess that the Scandinavian mind, both ancient and modern, has assumed worth and magnitude to us, since the reading of this book, that we did not anticipate. To all who may be in like partial ignorance we commend

the book with the promise of similar profit and pleasure in the revelation afforded.

The bibliographical appendix, prepared by Mr. Solberg, gives a survey of all the literature on the subject, and will afford surprise that so much, of a direct and indirect character, has been written of Scandinavia, and yet so little has been serviceable in making its literature generally known.

*Old Wine and New: Occasional Discourses.* By the REV. JOSEPH CROSS, D.D., LL.D. New York, Thomas Whittaker.

This is the sixth volume from the pen of Dr. Cross within a brief period. The title *Old Wine and New* is given as it contains his earliest and some of his latest discourses. One, on Filial Hope, he preached when sixteen years of age—fifty-five years ago. The latest was produced last year. As a preacher Dr. Cross has many admirers. In the preface he states that he once contemplated an autobiography. He had written a hundred pages, when in an hour of indigestion he committed them to the flames; and as a substitute these discourses represent him in the successive stages of his ministry.

*Doctrines and Duty; or Notes of the Church. Sermons Occasional and Parochial.* By the REV. GEORGE F. CUSHMAN D.D., New York, Thomas Whittaker.

This volume is most appropriately named. The discourses are doctrinal and practical. The titles of the first seven are, *Notes of the Church; The Church of England Protestant and Free; The Unchangeable Faith; A Plea for Unity; Forms of Prayer; Regeneration; The Laying on of Hands.* The remaining eighteen are on topics bearing upon the Christian life and character. All of them, both the doctrinal and the practical, are clear, concise and forcible, and well adapted for the use of lay-readers in congregations where the services of a clergyman may not be had.

*John Foster: Life and Thoughts.* With copious Index. By W. W. EVERTS, D.D. New York; Funk and Wagnalls.

Half a century ago few essayists were better known or more admired than John Foster. He exerted a wide influence upon contemporary thought, while some of his essays left indelible impress upon the characters of the young. Among that class we presume that no book of the kind had a wider circulation or was more generally read and pondered than his *Decision of Character*. Among a less numerous, but more mature and thoughtful class his essays on a *Man's writing Memoirs of Himself*, *The Application of the Epithet Romantic*, and on *Some of the Causes by which Evangelical Religion has been Rendered Unacceptable to Persons of Cultivated Taste*, were very acceptable.

The work before us contains a sketch of Foster's life and a long and minute analysis of his character, habits, style of writing etc. But it is not a little remarkable that where so much is said and well said about him, we fail to find mentioned by name the very works which rendered him most widely known, and extracts from which compose the greater part of this volume. The book presents, as the preface says, "in a form convenient for general circulation, *Memorabilia* of Foster's external, intellectual, literary and religious life. It also furnishes the most extraordinary passages of his writings, so classified and indexed as to make his profound thoughts, brilliant sentiments and striking figures easily available for the illustration of any subject."

*Ethics. Demonstrated in Geometrical Order* and divided into five parts, which treat first of GOD; second, Of the Nature and Origin of the Mind; third, Of the origin and nature of the effects; fourth, Of human bondage, or of the strength of the Affects; fifth, Of the power of the Intellect, or of human liberty. By BENEDICT DE SPINDZA. Translated from the Latin by WILLIAM HALE WHITE. New York: Macmillan & Co.

To the scholarly and profound thinker this book will be remunerative. It will subserve two desirable uses, viz.: 1. It will excite vigorous thought; 2. It will be a revelation of Spinoza's analytic skill and logical power. As part of the literature of philosophy it is important

and this English translation will stir the curiosity of many educated men who would never have made the effort to master the work in its original form. In its present garb it demands unrelaxed attention and much tense thinking to follow intelligibly, the author. In Latin this difficulty must be greater, so that the translation is, what it claims to be, a help in attaining the results of profound ratiocination.

While we do not see that there is any valuable addition to the knowledge reached, in the same line of investigation, by other thinkers, yet the book is a fine specimen of mental gymnastics and enables the reader to test his own thews by a struggle with one of the intellectual giants of a past age. For its disciplinary quality we more especially commend it to those of our readers who have a taste for abstract reasoning, and who love, anon, to be elevated to the higher and more rarified planes of thought. Occasional fellowship, on the mountain top, with such a teacher is strengthening to the mental and moral fibre.

*Troja.* Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy, and in the Heroic Tumuli and other sites, made in the year 1882, and a Narrative of a Journey in the Troad in 1881. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN Hon. D. C. L., Oxon, etc., with a reface by Prof. A. H. SAYCE. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Dr. Schliemann's latest volume is by no means least in interest and importance. It goes over, in part, the same ground as his *Ilios*, a few years ago, and it is in great measure supplemental and illustrative of the main positions taken and established in that volume. The learned Teuton is also as enthusiastic as ever, and has made some considerable corrections and additions to the literature and discussion of the renowned Homeric question. He is not at all shaken in his faith that Hissarlik is the true spot where to look for ancient Troy; but he holds now that Hissarlik represents the Acropolis, and that the town or city extended a long distance below and Southward. He is now induced to think that he was in error

in placing Homer's Troy as superimposed over two earlier towns or settlements, and concludes that the city was really the second in time of building. He argues the question with his usual freeness and confidence; and whether he be right or wrong in the matter, it must be acknowledged that he presents it in a very interesting and pleasing light and showed himself quite the equal of the various opponents of his views in England and elsewhere.

Prof. A. H. Sayce, of Oxford, furnishes an excellent preface of some thirty pages, in which he warmly sustains Schliemann's positions. "The heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey (he says) have become to us men of flesh and blood; we can watch both them, and older heroes still, in almost every act of their daily life, and even determine their nature and the capacity of their skulls. It is little wonder if so marvellous a discovery of a past in which we had ceased to believe, should have awakened many controversies, and wrought a silent revolution in our conceptions of Greek history. It is little wonder if at first the discoverer who had so rudely shocked the settled prejudices, of the historian should have met with a storm of indignant opposition or covert attack. But in this case what was new was also what was true, and, as fact after fact has accumulated and excavation after excavation been systematically carried out, the storm has slowly died away, to be followed by a warm acknowledgment and unreserved acquiescence. To-day no trained archæologist in Greece or Western Europe doubts the main facts which Dr. Schliemann's excavations have established; we can never return again to the ideas of ten years ago." The whole preface is well worth reading, though it may perhaps be thought to be a little overstrained in praise of the author of *Troja* and *Ilios*.

Schliemann's narrative follows in seven chapters, in which he gives a full account of his explorations at Troy and in the Troad in 1882; discusses the various settlements on the hill at Hissarlik, from the first to the seventh; sets forth his examinations of the conical

mounds, called " Heroic Tumuli ;" and tells of other explorations in the Troad. A goodly number of notes is added on points of interest to students ; and seven valuable appendices follow these, in which Schliemann gives the testimony of such scholars as Virchow, Karl Blind, Professor Neabaffy and others in support of his work. Finally, a very full and exact index brings the volume to a close, and adds materially to the comfort and enjoyment of students and general readers.

The illustrations number 750, and there are several plans and maps, all which are produced in the best style of pictorial art, and are indispensable to the understanding and right appreciation of the work. We may add, that the Messrs. Harper have brought out *Troja* in a style worthy of their House, and that it forms a meet and attractive companion volume to the author's *Ilios*.

INCORPORATED 1794.

CHARTER PERPETUAL.

# Insurance Company of North America.

Company's Building, 232 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Hundred and Eightieth Semi-Annual Statement of the Assets of the Company.

JANUARY 1, 1884.

Mortgages on City Property.....	\$1,866,866 67
State, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Indianapolis.....	325,739 47
States Loans and Loans of the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.....	680,400 00
Hartford, Baltimore and other City Loans.....	868,680 00
ylvania, Philadelphia and Erie Lehigh Valley, and other Companies Bonds and Stock.....	3,292,684 00
Bank and Bankers' hands.....	548,000 44
with Collaterals.....	798,654 80
Receivable and Unsettled Marine Premiums and Book Accounts due Company.....	351,152 88
Cash Fire Premiums in course of transmission.....	282,198 58
and interest and all other property.....	94,400 68

Total Assets, \$9,071,690 88

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Capital Stock.....	\$3,000,000 00
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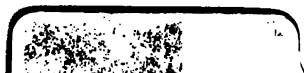
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1





the first of these is the fact that the  
 system is not self-sufficient. It  
 requires a constant input of energy  
 from the outside world. This is  
 because the system is not in  
 equilibrium with its surroundings.

The second point is that the  
 system is not stable. It is subject  
 to fluctuations and disturbances  
 from the outside world. This is  
 because the system is not in  
 equilibrium with its surroundings.

The third point is that the  
 system is not predictable. It is  
 subject to random fluctuations and  
 disturbances from the outside  
 world. This is because the system  
 is not in equilibrium with its  
 surroundings.

The fourth point is that the  
 system is not controllable. It is  
 subject to random fluctuations and  
 disturbances from the outside  
 world. This is because the system  
 is not in equilibrium with its  
 surroundings.

The fifth point is that the  
 system is not observable. It is  
 subject to random fluctuations and  
 disturbances from the outside  
 world. This is because the system  
 is not in equilibrium with its  
 surroundings.

The sixth point is that the  
 system is not reliable. It is  
 subject to random fluctuations and  
 disturbances from the outside  
 world. This is because the system  
 is not in equilibrium with its  
 surroundings.